THE

LIFE

OF

Oliver Cromwell.

CONTAINING

His MILITARY EXPLOITS in *England* during the GRAND REBELLION; his REDUCTION of *Scotland*, and CONQUEST of IRELAND: His CIVIL GOVERNMENT, POLICY, TREATIES with, and RESPECT paid him, by FOREIGN PRINCES and STATES.

With an ACCOUNT of

The GREAT ACTIONS performed by his brave GENERALS and ADMIRALS in the WAR with the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE LIFE OF *Oliver Cromwell.*

CHAP. I.

CROMWELL's *deſcent, alliances, and firſt advancement to popularity.*

SECT. I.

OLIVER Cromwell was very well deſcended. The original name of his family was not Cromwell, but Williams. Morgan Williams, ſon and heir of Williams, married the ſiſter of the famous Lord Cromwell, who was made earl of Eſſex by king Henry VIII. By her he had a ſon named Richard, who was knighted by king Henry, and took the name of his uncle Cromwell, tho' he kept the arms of Williams. He married Frances, daughter and coheir of ſir Thomas Murſyn; and upon the diſſolution of the

monaſteries, obtained all the lands that belonged to them in Huntingdonſhire, which amounted to a prodigious value. This ſir Richard Cromwell, at a ſolemn triumph held at Weſtminſter, anno 1540, before king Henry VIII. and which was proclaimed in France, Spain, Scotland, and Flanders, overthrew two of the combatants, mr. Palmer and mr. Cuſpey. He had a ſon Henry, who was knighted by queen Elizabeth in the ſixth year of her reign. This ſir Henry married Joan, daughter and heir of ſir Ralph Warren, and reſided chiefly at Hinchingbrook, where had been a houſe of nuns. He is ſaid to have been a worthy gentleman, that lived in high eſteem both at court and in his country. The father of our protector, Robert Cromwell, eſq; was ſecond ſon of ſir Henry. There were five more: ſir Oliver was the eldeſt, who had a vaſt eſtate, and after whom his nephew Oliver ſeems to be named: the others were Henry, Richard, Philip and Ralph. We read of ſir Oliver, that at his houſe at Hinchingbrook, on the acceſſion of king James I. he made the moſt noble entertainment that ever had been made by a private ſubject, in honour of his ſovereign.

But mr. Robert Cromwell's eſtate was much inferior to his brother's. He had not above three hundred pounds a year, when his wife, daughter of ſir Richard Steward, brought him a ſon that was to have at his command the perſons and fortunes of three wealthy nations. It was on the 25th of April, 1599, that this prodigy was given to the world, at the town of Huntingdon, where his father then inhabited. The accounts we have of his youth are imperfect and unſatisfactory; for he never diſtinguiſhed himſelf till he was called upon to do it in a publick capacity. We only learn, that his father took care of his education, ſending him,

him, when grown up, to Sidney-college in Cambridge, where he diſcovered more inclination to an active than a ſpeculative life: though there are proofs ſufficient, that his advances in learning were not deſpicable, ſince they made him maſter of a genteel ſtile. It was owing, perhaps, to this turn for action, that we read of his running into ſome exceſſes, when he retired from Cambridge after his father's death; which occaſioned his mother to enter him at Lincoln's-Inn. The ſtudy of the law, however, did not long agree with him; and having five hundred pounds a year left him by his maternal uncle, ſir Richard Steward, over and above what he inherited from his father, he fixed entirely in the country, growing as remarkably ſober and religious, as he had been before vicious and extravagant. For ſome time after his reformation he adhered to the church of England, but at laſt fell in with the puritans.

§. 2. The grievances of the people were at this time many and great, occaſioned by the encroachments of the court and clergy, on almoſt every branch of civil and religious liberty. Cromwell's engagement on the puritan ſide, at his firſt coming into the houſe of commons, made him a warm ſtickler for the country intereſt. He was one of the committee of religion in king Charles's third parliament; and made himſelf taken notice of on this occaſion by the people, as a perſon well affected to the legal conſtitution of his country. But what made him the moſt popular, was his oppoſition to an undertaking in which the king himſelf was concerned, for draining the fens in Lincolnſhire and the iſle of Ely. At this time, by heading the towns people of Cambridge, he got to be elected one of their burgeſſes, to ſerve in the par-

liament of 1640, afterwards called the long parliament.

In this parliament he ſhewed himſelf a zealous and forward oppoſer of the public grievances. The whole ſenate, indeed, were earneſtly bent on proſecuting the affair; and work enough they had on their hands. And as Cromwell's conduct herein was no ways different from that of the repreſentatives in general, I ſhall here, in order to his juſtification, give a character of that aſſembly, as drawn by an author who wrote at the requeſt of one of the royal family. I ſhall alſo, chiefly from the ſame writer, inſert a general view of the ſtate of the nation at that time, and of the cauſes of the unhappy breach that followed.

§. 3. No age ever produced greater men than thoſe who ſat in that parliament: They had ſufficient abilities and inclinations to render the king and their country happy, if England had not been, thro' a chain of concurring accidents, ripened for deſtruction. At their ſitting down, a ſcene of grievances, under which we had long groaned, was laid open, and all topicks made uſe of to paint them out in the livelieſt colours. The many cruelties and illegal practices of the ſtar-chamber and high commiſſion courts, that had alienated peoples minds from the hierarchy, were now inſiſted on, to throw down thoſe two arbitrary tribunals; and with them, ſome time after, the biſhops out of the houſe of peers, and at length epiſcopacy itſelf out of the church. It was not a few of either houſe, but indeed all the great patriots, that concurred at firſt to make an enquiry into the grievances of this reign. Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, and lord chancellor of England; the lord Digby; the lord Falkland; the lord Capel; mr. Grimſtone, who was choſen afterwards ſpeaker

of

of the houſe of commons that brought in king Charles the ſecond, and was maſter of the rolls; mr. Hollis, afterwards lord Hollis; and in general, moſt of thoſe who took the king's part in the ſucceeding war, were the men that appeared with the greateſt zeal for the redreſs of grievances, and made the ſharpeſt ſpeeches upon thoſe ſubjects. The intentions of thoſe gentlemen were certainly noble and juſt, and tended to the equal advantage of king and people: but the fate of England urged on its ruin ſtep by ſtep, till an open rupture between the king and parliament made the gap too wide ever to be made up again.

Sir Thomas Wentworth, earl of Stafford, and dr. Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had too great a ſhare in the miniſtry, to eſcape being cenſured; and they were the firſt that felt the effects of a popular hatred. Theſe two gentlemen, and James duke of Hamilton, firſt adviſed king Charles to call this parliament; and all three fell by it, tho' not at the ſame time. King Charles now, from the neceſſity of the times, did every thing to ſatisfy the parliament: he paſſed the bill for attainting the earl of Strafford, tho' with reluctancy, as believing he deſerved not ſuch hard meaſure: he took away monopolies, that had been a diſcouragement to trade: he expreſſed himſelf to their contentment in the matters of loan, ſhip-money, tonnage and poundage, and other unwarrantable methods that had been uſed in raiſing money; and ſhewed a ſettled reſolution to comply with them, in every thing that might tend to the eaſe and ſecurity of the ſubject. As in the preceding parliament he had paſſed the petition of right, ſo in the beginning of this, he had agreed to the acts for triennial parliaments, and for aboliſhing the ſtar chamber and high-commiſſion courts, which had been great grievances; and with chearfulneſs paſſed that act

which ſeem'd inconſiſtent with his own juſt prerogative, " That that parliament ſhould not be diſſolved but by act of parliament ; nor prorogued or adjourned but by their own conſent."

The king having, upon theſe conceſſions, received the thanks of both houſes, and the loud applauſes of his people, took a journey to Scotland in Auguſt, 1641, to ſettle matters there, that required his preſence ; that kingdom having juſt before been at war with England, on account of the grievances there introduced. He left the parliament ſitting, which they continued to do for ſome time, and then adjourned themſelves to October following. At the king's going away, affairs had been already ſettled betwixt the two kingdoms by an act of pacification, and both armies ordered to be disbanded, the Scots returning home for that purpoſe.

§. 4. But while the king was in Scotland, the Iriſh rebellion broke out, which became a new bone of contention between him and the parliaments of both nations. He ſeemingly took meaſures in Scotland about ſuppreſſing that rebellion, and is ſaid to have made haſte back to England to concert with the parliament concerning it. He did not act, however, with ſo much vigour, as to convince every one of his ſincerity in the affair : And it appeared that the queen, who very much governed his majeſty, kept up a correſpondence with lord Antrim, one of the chief agents in that bloodſhed Nevertheleſs, the king was received in London, at his return, with all demonſtrations of affection. The lord mayor and aldermen, the nobility, gentry, and train'd-bands, met him without the city, and conducted him in great ſtate, amidſt the acclamations of the people, the city companies lining the ſtreets on each ſide, to Guild-

hall,

hall, where he was royally feaſted, and after dinner conducted with the ſame pomp to Whitehall. "What man, ſays dr. Wellwood, that had ſeen "a prince thus received into his capital city, could "have imagined that within leſs then ſeven weeks "he ſhould be obliged to leave it upon the account "of tumults, never to ſee it again, but as a pri-"ſoner brought thither to die upon a ſcaffold? yet "this was king Charles's hard fortune."

The houſe of commons had begun, ſome few days before his return, to fall into heats about innovations in religion; the rebellion in Ireland; plots ſaid to be laid in Scotland; the diſabling of the clergy to exerciſe temporal juriſdiction; and excluding the biſhops from votes in parliament: all which matters, together with ſome reports that were ſpread about of ſome deſigns againſt the parliament, led the houſe into that remarkable petition and remonſtrance of the ſtate of the nation, in which they repeated all the miſmanagements in the government ſince the king's coming to the throne, and attributed all to evil counſels and counſellors, and a malignant party about the king. The billetting of ſoldiers contrary to law, the diſſolution and ſuſpenſion of parliaments, the ſevere impriſonment of ſeveral members, the raiſing of money by unparliamentary ways, violent proſecutions for non-payment, arbitrary proceedings in the courts of law, the late behaviour and doctrines of the high-flown clergy, continuance of thoſe abuſes ſince the late conceſſions, were ſome of the topicks inſiſted on. This remonſtrance met with great oppoſition in the houſe, the debate laſting from three o'clock in the afternoon till ten o'clock next morning, when it paſſed by a ſmall majority. It was preſented to his majeſty the eighth day after his return from Scotland. This petition and remonſtrance, together with the king's

anſwer to them at their delivery, and the declaration which he publiſhed at large afterwards to the ſame purpoſe, contain the matters of almoſt all thoſe fatal differences, that came, within a very ſhort time after they were drawn up, to be decided by the ſword. But they being very long, and to be met with in moſt hiſtories of that time, I ſhall not ſwell this volume with them.

§. 5. Cromwell was a great promoter of this remonſtrance; and we have this remarkable paſſage concerning him, while it was in agitation. A day having been appointed for retaking it into conſideration, upon its not being called for till late, the matter was put off till next morning. Cromwell, hereupon, aſked the lord Falkland, why he was for deferring it, ſince that day would have put an end to the buſineſs. His lordſhip anſwered, "There will not be time enough; for ſure it will take up ſome debate." To which the other replied, "A very ſorry one:" Concluding it will be oppoſed by very few. But the day after it was over, when upon ſo hard a ſtruggle it paſſed only by a majority of nine, lord Falkland aſked mr. Cromwell if there had been a debate. "Yes, ſaid he, and I will take your word another time." Then whiſpering in the lord Falkland's ear, he added, "If the remonſtrance had not paſſed, I would have ſold all I had the next morning, and have never ſeen England more; and I know many other honeſt men that were of the ſame reſolution."

Some years before this, indeed, on account of the ſevere proceedings of archbiſhop Laud againſt the puritans, Cromwell had formed a deſign, together with ſeveral other gentlemen of fortune and worth, to go to the American plantations: which deſign they were very near putting in execution, being

being only prevented by a proclamation and order of council, when they were actually embarked, in order to tranſport themſelves. This ſhews, that Cromwell, at that time, as well as the other excellent perſons before mentioned, acted entirely from a principle of conſcience in their oppoſition againſt the court, which, without diſpute, had been guilty of numberleſs oppreſſions: and by theſe means his reputation increaſed, both in the houſe and without, as a ſteady and zealous patriot.

§. 6. Things were now going faſt on towards leſſening the confidence betwixt the king and parliament: And yet there were not wanting endeavours, on both ſides, to accommodate matters by ſoft and healing methods, when the king's coming to the houſe of commons in perſon, to demand five of their members, whom he had ordered the day before to be impeached of high treaſon, put all into a combuſtion, and gave occaſion to the houſe to aſſert their privileges with a greater warmth than ever. This was the moſt unlucky ſtep king Charles could have made at this juncture: and the indiſcretion of ſome that attended the king to the lobby of the houſe, was inſiſted upon as an argument that the king was reſolved to uſe violence upon the parliament. Theſe five members had hardly time to make their eſcape, juſt when the king was entering; and upon his going away, the houſe adjourn'd in a flame for ſome days, ordering a committee to ſit at Guildhall in the mean time, as if they were not ſafe at Weſtminſter.

Whoever they were that adviſed the king to this raſh attempt, are juſtly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards ſpilt; for this ſudden action was the firſt and viſible ground of all our following miſeries. It was believed, that if the

king had found the five members in the houſe, and had called in his guards to ſeize them, the houſe would have endeavoured their defence, and oppoſed force to force; which might have endangered the king's perſon. But the conſequences were bad enough without this; for immediately upon it there was nothing but confuſion and tumults, fears and jealouſies every where, which ſpread themſelves to Whitehall in the rudeſt manner: ſo that his majeſty, thinking himſelf not ſafe there, retired with his family to Hampton-court.

The king leaving his parliament in this manner, there was ſcarce any hopes of a thorough reconciliation. But when, after a great many removes from place to place, his majeſty came to ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, there enſued a fatal and bloody war, which, it is reaſonable to believe, was never deſigned at firſt by either ſide.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

CROMWELL's *military exploits in the civil wars, during the life of king* Charles *the firſt.*

§. 1. WHEN the differences between the king and parliament were come to an open rupture, the active genius of Cromwell would not ſuffer him to be an idle ſpectator. He got a captain's commiſſion from the commons, and immediately raiſed a troop of horſe in his own country. They conſiſted of ſelect men, whoſe bravery he proved by the following ſtratagem. He placed about twelve of them in an ambuſcade, near one of the king's garriſons, who advancing, furiouſly towards the body, as if they had been of the enemy's party, put ſome of their raw companions to the flight. Theſe he immediately caſhiered, and filled their places with others of more courage.

Other men, in what profeſſion ſoever, have generally advanced very ſlowly, or by ſome other means than pure merit, to the higheſt dignities. But this was not Cromwell's caſe: his advances from a captain to a lieutenant-general were ſo ſudden, that they could not but ſurpriſe all that were witneſſes to them. His ſecuring the town of Cambridge, when the college-plate was upon the point of being ſent to the king at Oxford, and his taking ſir Thomas Conneſby, high ſheriff of Hertfordſhire, juſt as he was going to St. Alban's, to pro-

proclaim the parliament-commanders all traitors, were ſuch actions as procured him the thanks of the houſe, and ſoon after recommended him to the dignity of a colonel. In this poſt, having raiſed a thouſand horſe by his own intereſt, he obſtructed the levies for the king in Cambridgeſhire, Eſſex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, with incredible diligence: he alſo defeated the project of a counter-aſſociation on the king's ſide, contrived by ſir John Pettus and others, by ſurpriſing the parties in the town of Leoſtoff, and ſeizing all their proviſions and ſtores: then, going to convoy ſome ammution from Warwick to Glouceſter, he by the way took Hiſden-Houſe, made ſir Alexander Denton, the owner, and many others, priſoners, obtained a large booty, and gave an alarm to Oxford itſelf.

§. 2. Being now made lieutenant-general to the earl of Manchester, he levy'd more forces. With theſe marching towards Lincolnſhire, he diſarmed the Parliament's enemies by the way, relieved captain Wray, who was diſtreſſed by the Newarkers, made a great ſlaughter, and took three troops. Afterwards meeting with twenty four of the king's troops near Grantham, he with ſeven troops only entirely routed them.

Lord Willoughby of Parham having got poſſeſſion of Gainsborough for the parliament, colonel Cavendiſh was ſent by his brother, the earl of Newcaſtle, with a great party of horſe, to ſummon it. Cromwell attacked him with only twelve troops, near the town; and tho' Cavendiſh had three times the number of men, and prodigious advantage of ſituation, his party was entirely routed, and himſelf killed, among a great number of other officers. "This, ſays Whitelock, was the beginning of Cromwell's great fortunes; and

now

now he began to appear in the world. He had a * brave regiment of horſe of his countrymen, moſt

* At a general muſter in 1644, no men appeared ſo full, and well armed, and civil, as colonel Cromwell's horſe did.

Bate ſays, that " Cromwell uſed them daily to look after, feed, and dreſs their horſes, and, when it was neceſſary, to lie together on the ground; and beſides taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for ſervice; to chuſe the beſt armour, and to arm themſelves to the beſt advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exerciſe, they excelled all their fellow ſoldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy. Theſe were afterwards preferred to be commanders and officers in the army, and their places were filled up with luſty ſtrong fellows, whom he brought up in the ſame ſtrictneſs of diſciplne."

But the fulleſt and beſt authority for what is here advanced, may be found in Cromwell's own words, as quoted by the reverend mr. Peck from his conference on the parliament's deſiring him to take on him the title of king. " I was a perſon that from my firſt emyloyment was ſuddenly preferred and lifted up from leſſer truſts to greater. From my firſt being captain of a troop of horſe, I did labour, as well as I could, to diſcharge my truſt; and God bleſſed me, as it pleaſed him. I had a very worthy friend then, mr John Hampden, and he was a very noble perſon, and I know his memory is very grateful to all. At my firſt going out into this engagement, I ſaw our men were beaten on every hand: I did indeed; and deſired him that he would make ſome additions to my lord Eſſex's army of ſome new regiments: and I told him

moſt of them freeholders, and freeholders ſons, who upon matter of conſcience engaged in the quarrel under Cromwell. And thus being well armed within, by the ſatisfaction of their own conſciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man ſtand firmly, and charge deſperately. He was obliged, however, after this victory, to retreat the ſame night to Lincoln; which he did in good order, and marched the next day to the earl of Manchester at Boſton. Colonel Cavendiſh's troops rallying, after the death of their leader, and joining the earl of Newcaſtle, Cromwell thought it not prudent to engage againſt ſuch prodigi-

him it would be ſerviceable to him in bringing ſuch men in, as I thought had a ſpirit that would do ſomething in the work. Your troops, ſaid I, are moſt of them old decay'd ſerving men and tapſters, and ſuch kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's ſons, younger ſons, and perſons of quality: and do you think that the ſpirit of ſuch baſe and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and reſolution in them? You muſt get men of a ſpirit, and (take it not ill what I ſay) of a ſpirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go; or elſe I am ſure you will be beaten ſtill. I told him ſo. He was a wiſe and worthy perſon, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him, I could do ſomewhat in it. And I raiſed ſuch men as had the fear of God before them, and made ſome conſcience of what they did. And from that day forwards they were never beaten, but whenever they engaged againſt the enemy, they beat continually." Peck's memoirs of the life and actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 52. in the notes.

prodigious odds; ſo drew off with all the conduct of an experienced general.

His next action was againſt Sir John Henderſon, an old commander, at the head of eighty ſeven troops. They met near Horn-caſtle, at a place called Windſby-field. Here Cromwell was in great danger, having his horſe killed in the firſt ſhock, and being ſtruck down again as he attempted to riſe. But his good fortune ſtill protected him; in about an hour the royaliſts were routed, the lord Widdrington, ſir Ingram Hopton, and other perſons of quality, with about fifteen hundred ſoldiers and inferior officers, were left dead on the field, very few being loſt on the parliament ſide. Many priſoners, arms, and horſes, were taken; and it was in conſequence of this victory, that the earl of Mancheſter made himſelf maſter of Lincoln.

§. 3. Soon after this followed the battle of Marſton-moor. The parliament army, under the earl of Mancheſter, lord Fairfax, and general Leven, had been obliged by prince Rupert to raiſe the ſiege of York. His highneſs, not contented with this advantage, reſolved to give them battle, and accordingly came up with them at the above mentioned place. In the engagement, the left wing of the royal army, commanded by the prince in perſon, put to flight the parliament's right wing, and in it the ſaid three generals. But the prince purſuing them too far, Cromwell, who commanded the left wing, found means to draw over the victory to his ſide, and get the whole honour of it to himſelf. He engaged cloſely the earl of Newcaſtle, who had before only cannonaded at a diſtance, and the action on both ſides was warm and deſperate. The horſe having diſcharged their piſtols, flung them at each other's

other's heads, and then fell to it with their ſwords. But after a very obſtinate diſpute, Cromwell's ſuperior genius prevailed, and the king's right wing was totally routed. And now the prince returning with his victorious party, was alſo charged at unawares, and entirely defeated, by the reſerve of Cromwell's brigade.

In this action, above four thouſand of the king's forces were ſlain, and fifteen hundred taken priſoners, among whom were above a hundred perſons of diſtinction, and conſiderable officers. All their artillery, great numbers of ſmall arms, and much ammunition, together with the prince's own ſtandard, were alſo taken: the parliamentarians loſing not above three hundred men. The whole glory of it is univerſally aſcribed to Cromwell, who, according to ſome, was abſent when Mancheſter, Fairfax, and Leven, were put in confuſion, being gone off to have a wound dreſſed, which he received at the firſt charge: but returning to his poſt, he ſhewed what good ſenſe united with valour could do; for by his own proweſs he inſpired the troops with freſh courage, and immediately gave a new turn to the fortune of the day. For his behaviour in this memorable battle, which was fought on the ſecond of July 1644, Cromwell gained the name of Ironſides, alluding to his invincible bravery, and the impenetrable ſtrength of his troops. The conſequences of the king's ſide were, diſſention and ſeparation between the prince and his confederates, and ſoon after the ſurrender of the city of York, by ſir Thomas Glemham.

I am very ſenſible that ſir William Dugdale, in his ſhort view of the late troubles, and lord Hollis, in his memoirs, have accuſed Cromwell of egregious cowardice, the former in the battle of Edge-hill, and the latter in this battle of Marſton-

ſtonmoor: but as they both do it only on hearſay, and were beſides profeſſed enemies of our commander, and as all the concurrent and ſubſequent facts and circumſtances, in particular his great reputation from this time, entirely contradict and overthrow every calumny of that nature, it is certainly needleſs to uſe any other means to wipe off their aſperſions.

§. 4. In fact, Cromwell began now to be ſo very much taken notice of, that ſome dreaded, others envy'd, and all admired him. It is reported, that the character given of him to the king by archbiſhop Williams, made ſuch an impreſſion on his majeſty, that he was heard to ſay, "I would ſome one would do me the good ſervice to bring Cromwell to me, alive or dead." The earl of Eſſex grew jealous of him: the Scotch commiſſioners, at his inſtigation, held a conference with ſome of the parliament's members, how to get rid of him, in which he was vehemently accuſed by the chancellor of Scotland. He had alſo a difference with the earl of Mancheſter, whom he accuſed of cowardice at the ſecond battle of Newbury, which ended in an irreconcileable breach between them. Yet, amidſt all his enemies and rivals, Cromwell ſtill carry'd his point, ſo far, that when the army was new-modell'd, by what was called the ſelf-denying ordinance, which excluded all members of parliament from military poſts, he continued a ſingle exception to this general law, and kept his command, when the earls of Eſſex, Mancheſter, Denbigh, and Warwick, the lord Grey of Groby, ſir William Waller, major general maſſey, and many others, were removed from theirs. Of ſuch importance did his ſervices now appear, that envy and oppoſition could have no effect againſt

againſt him, tho' promoted by perſons in the higheſt ſtations.

A little before the battle of Naſeby he was appointed lieutenant-general of the horſe, notwithſtanding the ſelf-denying ordinance, and the complaints of thoſe gentlemen upon whoſe ruins he was now viſibly riſing. Whitelock informs us, that he had now began to increaſe the favour of the people, and of the army, and to grow great to the envy of many.

§. 5. Fairfax was the parliament's chief general, in the room of the earl of Eſſex. Cromwell joined him and the main army at Gilsborough, bringing with him ſix hundred horſe and dragoons. The king, having been ſome time at Borough-hill, drew off from thence towards Harborough, and deſigned to march to Pomfret; thinking, if he were followed by the parliament's forces, he ſhould fight with greater advantage northward. But Ireton, by Cromwell's advice, being ſent out with a flying party of horſe, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quartered in Naſeby town, and took many priſoners, being ſome of prince Rupert's life guard, and Langdale's brigade. This gave ſuch an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at midnight left his own quarters, and for ſecurity haſtened to Harborough, where the van of his army lay. Here calling up prince Rupert, he ſummoned a council of war, in which it was reſolved (chiefly thro' the prince's eagerneſs, the old commanders being much againſt it) to give the enemy battle; and ſince Fairfax had been ſo forward, they would no longer ſtay for him, but ſeek him out. Accordingly, being come near Naſeby, there they found him; and both armies being drawn up in battalia, faced each other. The princes Rupert and

and Maurice commanded the right wing of the royal army, ſir Marmadaduke Langdale the left, and the king himſelf the main body, the earl of Lindſay, and Jacob lord Aſtly, the right hand reſerve; and the lord Bard and ſir Geo. Liſle, the left reſerve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by lieutenant-general Cromwell, the left by colonel Ireton, the main body by general Fairfax and major-general Skippon, who fought ſtoutly, tho' ſeverely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reſerves were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-weſt ſide of Naſeby, above a mile broad; which ſpace of Grouud was wholly taken up by the two armies.

All things being diſpoſed, on the 14th of June, at ten in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royal word being, "God and queen Mary," and the others, "God with us." Prince Rupert gave the firſt charge, and engaged the parliament's left wing with great reſolution. Ireton made a gallant reſiſtance, but was forced at laſt to give ground, his horſe being ſhot under him, and himſelf run thro' the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and taken priſoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regained his liberty. The prince chaſed the enemy to Naſeby town, and in his return ſummoned the train, and viſited his carriages, where was good plunder. But here, as in the battle of Marſtonmoor, his long ſtay ſo far from the main body, was no ſmall prejudice to the king's army.

For Cromwell, in the mean time, charged furiouſly on the king's left wing, and that with good ſucceſs, forcing them from the body; and proſecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reſerve. After which, joining with Fairfax,

Fairfax, he charged the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's, and got poſſeſſion of their ordnance, and thought themſelves ſure of victory; but being now in confuſion, and having no horſe to ſupport them, they were eaſily overborne by Fairfax and Cromwell. By this time the king was joined by prince Rupert returned from his fatal ſucceſs; but the horſe could never be brought to rally themſelves again in order, or to charge the enemy.

Upon this, lord Clarendon ſays, "that this difference was obſerved all along in the diſcipline of the king's troops, and thoſe commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell (it having never been remarkable under Eſſex and Waller, but only under them) that tho' the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed thoſe they charged, they ſeldom rally'd themſelves again in order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond charge the ſame day; which was the reaſon they had not an entire victory at Edge-hill: whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevailed, or tho' they were beaten and reuted, preſently rally'd again, and ſtood in good order, till they received farther directions."

In fine, with all that the king and the prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which ſtood in ſufficient numbers upon the place: ſo that they were forced at laſt to quit the field, leaving a compleat victory to the parliament's party, who purſued them within two miles of Leiceſter; and the king finding the purſuit ſo hot, fled from thence to Aſhby-de-la-Zouch, and thence to Litchfield, and for a ſafer retreat into Wales.

Thus end d the famous battle of Naſeby, in which the wonderful ſucceſs of the parliament's party was chiefly owing to Cromwell's valour and good

good conduct, who flew like lightning from one part of the army to another, and broke thro' the enemy's ſquadrons with ſuch rapidity, that nothing either could or durſt ſtop him. 'Tis ſaid, that in this action a commander of the king's knowing Cromwell, advanced briſkly from the head of his troops, to exchange a ſingle bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encountered by him, both ſides forbearing to come in; till their piſtols being diſcharged, the cavalier, with a ſlanting back blow of a broad ſword, chanced to cut the ribbon that held Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now, juſt as he was going to repeat his ſtroke, Cromwell's party came in and reſcued him; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece, into his ſaddle, which he haſtily catching, clapped it on the wrong way, and ſo bravely fought with it the reſt of the day, which proved ſo very fortunate on his ſide.

The king's loſs in this battle was irreparable; for beſides that there were ſlain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, moſt of his foot were taken priſoners, with all his cannon and baggage, eight thouſand arms, and other rich booty; among which was alſo his majeſty's own cabinet, where were repoſited his moſt ſecret papers, and letters between him and his queen, which ſhewed how contrary his counſels with her were to thoſe he declared to the kingdom. Many of theſe, relating to the publick, were printed, with obſervations, and kept upon record, by order of the two houſes; who alſo made a publick declaration of them, ſhewing what the nobility and and gentry, who followed the king, were to expect.

§. 6. The

§. 6. The parliament's army had no ſooner gained this wonderful advantage, but like a torrent they ſoon overflowed the whole kingdom, bearing down all before them. Leiceſter, which the king had lately taken from them, was immediately regained. Taunton, which had been cloſely beſieged by lord Goring, and defended by the valiant Blake, was relieved: lord Goring was beaten, and purſued almoſt to Bridgewater. In this latter action the prudence of Cromwell was very conſpicuous: he would not ſuffer part of the horſe to purſue the enemy, till they were all come up together; then putting himſelf at their head, he performed the work with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took almoſt all the enemy's foot, and their ordnance.

After this victory, the ſtrong garriſon of Bridgewater was taken by ſtorm. This was of great advantage to the parliament; for thereby a line of garriſons was drawn over the country, from the Severn to the ſouth coaſts; whereby Devonſhire and Cornwall, ſtill chiefly at the king's devotion, were cut off from any communication with the eaſtern parts.

§. 7. Cromwell's next expedition was againſt the club men, a kind of third army, which ſtarted up ſuddenly in ſeveral counties, on occaſion of the rapines and violences practiſed by the royaliſts in the weſt. Both parties endeavoured to gain them over, and they were formidable to both, till Cromwell's preſence, and excellent conduct, put an end to the inſurrection.

Immediately after we find him before Briſtol, in company with Fairfax, whom he adviſed to ſtorm that important city. Prince Rupert held it, with about 5000 horſe and foot, for the king, and had declared

declared he would never ſurrender it, unleſs a mutiny happened. But Cromwell's counſel prevailing, an attack was made with ſo much fury, that the prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a ſecond aſſault, but delivered up the place, and with it moſt of the king's magazines and warlike proviſions. His majeſty hereupon diſcharged the prince, and wrote him a letter to retire out of the kingdom.

From Briſtol, with a brigade of four regiments, Cromwell flew to the Devizes, and ſummoned the caſtle. The place was ſo ſtrong, that ſir Charles Lloyd, the governor, returned no other anſwer but "Win it and wear it." Yet, as if nothing was defenſible againſt our victorious commander, he was ſoon maſter of this fortreſs. Thence haſtening to Wincheſter, he by the way diſarmed and diſperſed the Hampſhire rioters: and being come before the city, he fired the gate, and entered; made a breach in the caſtle, which held out, and reduced it to the parliament's obedience. He did the ſame by Baſing-houſe, which was held by the marquis of Wincheſter, its owner, and thought almoſt impregnable; the colonels Norton and Harvey, and ſir William Waller, having aſſaulted it in vain. Seventy-two men were here loſt on the king's ſide, and about 200 taken, among which were the marquis himſelf, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, whom Cromwell ſent up to the parliament, and received the thanks of the houſe for theſe important ſervices.

Landford-houſe, near Saliſbury, upon his coming before it, was ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. Then marching beyond Exeter, at Bovy-Tracy he fought the lord Wentworth, taking 400 horſe, and about 100 foot, priſoners, with ſix ſtandards, one of which was the king's. Then joining with Fairfax, they in conjunction took

Dart-

Dartmouth by ſtorm, defeated the lord Hopton at Torrington, and purſued the only remains of a royal army into Cornwall, where prince Charles had a body of about 5000 horſe, and 1000 foot: but unable to make head againſt the victors, he embarked with ſeveral noble perſons, and fled to the iſles of Scilly. Lord Hopton, who was left to command the forces, was obliged to disband them: ſoon after which Exeter ſurrundered, and Cromwell came up to London, where he took his place in parliament, and received the hearty thanks of the Houſe, for his great many ſervices.

§. 8. The king's affairs were now entirely ruined, and an end was put to the firſt and longeſt civil war. The few places that held out for him were ſurrendered, and his majeſty threw himſelf into the hands of the Scots, then lying before Newark. The Scots ſoon after delivered him to the Engliſh parliament, who ſecured him in Holmby-houſe, where he was ſeized the next year by the army, and after ſome ineffectual treating, which we ſhall take notice of elſewhere, made his eſcape from Hampton-court to the Iſle of Wight, remaining there till he was brought up to London in order to his trial. During all this time Cromwell was managing the parliament and the army, who were both jealous of him in their turns, and both of them, in their turns, outwitted by him. It was now perceived, that tho' Fairfax was general in name, Cromwell commanded in fact, the other doing nothing without his concurrence.

But the whole time between the end of the firſt war and the death of the king, was not ſpent in intriguing, and circumventing of parties. In the year

year 1648 the diſcontented part of the nation had again recourſe to arms. The firſt that appeared in a hoſtile manner were the Welſh, under major-general Langhorn, colonel Poyer, and colonel Powell. Theſe men, tho' formerly active parliamentarians, being to be disbanded by order of the council of war, refuſed to ſubmit; and the better to ſecure themſelves, declared for the king, acting by commiſſion under the prince of Wales. Others joining them, they ſoon had a formidable body, and got poſſeſſion of ſeveral caſtles. There was alſo a conſiderable riſing in Kent, under the earl of Norwich; and another in the North, under ſir Marmaduke Langdale, The duke of Buckingham and his brother, the earl of Holland, and the earl of Peterborough, appeared in arms ſo near as Kingſton; and part of the fleet, under captain Batten, revolted to the prince. In a word, there was ſcarce a county in England, where there was not ſome aſſociation forming, in favour of the king. This put the parliament upon vigorous meaſures; which proving ſucceſsful, ſeveral of the inſurrections were immediately quell'd, and a powerful body of the royaliſts were ſhut up in the town of Colcheſter; where being obliged, after a long ſiege, to ſurrender, ſir George Liſle, and ſir Charles Lucas, two of their heads, were ſhot to death by order of a council of War.

§. 9. Cromwell's part in this ſecond war was very conſiderable. Being ſent into Wales, colonel Horton, whom he diſpatched before him, defeated Langhorn's army, ſlew 1500, and took 3000 priſoners. Cromwell himſelf beſieged Chepſtow, which was taken by colonel Ewer, whom he left behind him for that purpoſe. Proceeding in the mean time into Pembrokeſhire, he

took Tenby by ſtorm. Then advancing to Pembroke, where Langhorn, Poyer, and Powel had ſtrongly fortified themſelves, he reduced both the town and caſtle by famine. The three chiefs ſurrendered at mercy, and being condemned by a court-martial, were ordered to be ſhot to death; but having the favour given them of caſting lots, Poyer was the only one who ſuffered. The other priſoners were uſed with more lenity, and none of the town's-people plundered.

The Scots, about this time, invaded England under duke Hamilton, who had carried the command from the marquiſs of Argyle, and was for reſtoring the king without conditions. Cromwell was ordered to advance againſt theſe, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the reduction of Wales, he marched towards the north with all his forces; ſending to major-general Lambert, who was already in thoſe parts, to avoid engaging 'till the whole army came together. While Cromwell was on this march, a charge of high-treaſon was drawn up againſt him by major Huntingdon, which proved ineffectual in the houſe of commons. At laſt, having joined Lambert, he met the Scots on the 17th of Auguſt, near Preſton in Lancaſhire. The Engliſh under Langdale, who had joined the Scots, behaved reſolutely, but were ſo preſſed upon by Cromwell's men, that they were obliged to retreat: which the Scots perceiving, they ſoon followed their example, and left Cromwell maſter of the field; who purſuing them cloſely, ſlew many, and took abundance of priſoners, with all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition. The next morning marching towards Warrington, he made a ſtand at a paſs, which for many hours was reſolutely diſputed with him: but at laſt he drove on the enemy, ſlew 1000 of them, and took 2000 priſoners.

priſoners. He was again oppoſed at Warrington-bridge by lieutenant-general Bayley, who was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner of war, and all his men, to the number of 4000, with arms and ammunition. As for duke Hamilton, he fled from place to place with about 3000 horſe, 'till he was taken at Uttoxeter in Staffordſhire, with all his men, and ſent priſoner to Windſor caſtle. Thus the whole Scotch army, which had occaſioned ſo much terror, was totally routed and and defeated by Cromwell, with ſcarce a third part of the ſame number of forces, very few of which were loſt in this important expedition. General Monroe, who was come into England as a reſerve to the duke, hearing of what had happened, and that Cromwell was advancing towards him in order to proſecute the advantage, thought it his beſt way to march back again with all expedition.

Having rid the nation of this great fear, and the north in particular of the burthen it groaned under thro' the oppreſſion of the Scots, Cromwell reſolved to enter Scotland itſelf, that he might effectually root out whatever threatened any farther diſturbance. In his way he reduced Berwick and Carliſle, both which had revolted from their former obedience. And juſt upon entering the kingdom, he ordered proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that no one, upon pain of death, ſhould force from the Scots any of their cattle or goods. He alſo declared to the Scots themſelves, "That he came with an army to free their kingdom from the Hamiltonian party, who endeavoured to involve both the nations in blood; without any intention to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges." His proceedings were agreeable to this declaration; for marching to Edinburgh, he was received with great ſolemnity

by the marquis of Argyle, and others; and having diſpoſſeſs'd the Hamilton party of all public truſts, he returned to England loaded with marks of honour, leaving behind him, at the requeſt of the Argyle party, three regiments of horſe under major-general Lambert. Upon his arrival at London, he took his place in parliament, and was preſented with the thanks of the houſe; which he received, according to cuſtom, with great appearance of humility. This was his laſt military expedition before the death of the king, which happened ſoon after, but which we ſhall leave to be ſpoken of in another place, and purſue our hero into Ireland.

CHAP. III.

The Military actions of general Cromwell, *during his government of* Ireland.

§. 1. THE Iriſh rebellion, which broke out in 1641, had, thro' the neceſſity of the times, been much neglected 'till 1649. The parliament, indeed, had long before got poſſeſſion of Dublin, which was delivered up to them by the marquis of Ormond, who was then obliged to come over to England. But being recalled by the Iriſh, Ormond made a league with them in favour of the king, and brought over moſt of the kingdom into a union with the royaliſts. Londonderry and Dublin were the only places that held out for the parliament, and the latter was in great danger of being loſt. This made colonel Jones, the governor, ſend over to England for ſuccour; and a conſiderable body of forces were thereupon ordered for Ireland. The command of theſe was offered to Cromwell, who accepted it with ſeeming reluctance; profeſſing "that the difficulty which appeared in the expedition, was his chief motive for engaging in it; and that he hardly expected to prevail over the rebels, but only to preſerve to the commonwealth ſome footing in that kingdom."

The parliament was ſo pleaſed with his anſwer, that on the 22d of June, 1649, they gave him a commiſſion to command all the forces that ſhould

be ſent into Ireland, and to be lord-governor of that kingdom for three years, in all affairs both civil and military. From the very minute of his receiving this charge, Cromwell uſed an incredible expedition in the raiſing of money, providing of ſhipping, and drawing the forces together for their intended enterprize. The ſoldiery marched with great ſpeed to the rendezvous at Milford-Haven, there to expect the new lord-deputy, who followed them from London on the 10th of July. His ſetting out was very pompous, being drawn in a coach with ſix horſes, and attended by many members of the parliament and council of ſtate, with the chief of the army; his life-guard conſiſting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, all bravely mounted and accoutered, both them and their ſervants.

§. 2. Never did general more diſtinguiſh himſelf, either for valour and conduct, than Cromwell in this Iriſh expedition. Having called at Briſtol, where he was received with great honour, and given orders for the train of artillery, he went over to Wales, diſpatching three regiments before him for Dublin, to ſtrengthen the brave colonel Jones, who was appointed lieutenant-general of horſe by the parliament. With the aſſiſtance of theſe, that gallant commander raiſed the ſiege of Dublin, and entirely routed the marquis of Ormond, who had treated him with contempt. About 4000 were killed in this action, and 2500 taken priſoners, with the loſs of only twenty on the parliament ſide. All the great guns, ammunition, proviſions, and about 4000 l. in money, belonging to the royaliſts, were obtained in this battle; the great ſucceſs of which was unexpected on both ſides: Jones having at firſt only attacked a party, by whoſe defeat he

was

was led on to a complete victory. The marquiſs, upon this misfortune, fled to Kilkenny, and from thence to Drogheda, whither many of his ſcattered forces had betook themſelves before.

There was work enough, however, left for Cromwell, notwithſtanding this advantage before his arrival. The beating an army in the field was not the greateſt part of the buſineſs, while moſt of the fortified places, which were numerous, were in the hands of the enemy: yet a victory ſo complete, when he expected rather to hear of the loſs of Dublin, was matter of great encouragement to his excellency. He embark'd at Milford-Haven full of the good news, and arrived at Dublin in a ſhort time, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. As he paſſed thro' the city, at a convenient place he made a ſtand, and in a ſpeech to the people, "declared the cauſe of his coming, promiſing not only favour and affection, but rewards and gratuities, to all that ſhould aſſiſt him in the reduction of their enemies." He was anſwered with loud applauſes, the people crying out that they would live and die with him.

§. 3. After the ſoldiers had refreſhed themſelves, Cromwell drew them out of the city to a general muſter, where there appeared a complete body of 15,000 horſe and foot, out of which 10,000 were drawn for preſent ſervice. With this army he advanced towards Drogheda, or Tredagh, a ſtrong place, garriſoned by 2,500 foot and 300 horſe, the flower of the royal army, under the command of ſir Arthur Aſton, an experienced old ſoldier. The marquis of Ormond foreſaw that this place, by reaſon of its ſituation, would be firſt attempted; and he was in hopes he ſhould have time to recruit his army,

while Cromwell was waſting his forces againſt the town. But no ſooner was the general come before Tredagh, than he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender; which not being regarded, he immediately hung out the red enſign, blocked up the town by land, and ordered Ayſcough with his fleet to do the ſame by ſea; and being ſenſible of the miſchiefs of a long ſiege, he would not ſubmit to the common forms of approaches, but prepared directly for an aſſault.

Having planted a battery on the ſouth-ſide of the town, which continued firing for two days, two breaches were made in the walls, by which ſome regiments of foot immediately entered. But theſe being repulſed by the defendants, Cromwell drew out a freſh reſerve of foot, and in perſon bravely entered at their head. This example inſpired the ſoldiers with ſuch courage, that none were able to ſtand before them; and having now gained the town, they made a terrible ſlaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the ſword. Cromwell had given ſuch orders, to diſcourage other places from making oppoſition: to which purpoſe he wrote to the parliament, "that he believed this ſeverity would ſave much effuſion of blood." Aſton's men, however, did not fall unrevenged; for they deſperately diſputed every corner of the ſtreets, and finding theſe too hot, they retired to the churches and ſteeples. About a hundred of them were blown up together in St. Peter's church; only one man eſcaping, who leaped from the tower, and had quarter given him. Thoſe who would not ſurrender upon ſummons, were cloſely ſhut up and guarded, in order to ſtarve them out; and of thoſe who did ſurrender, all the officers and every tenth private man were killed, and the reſt thruſt on ſhipboard for Barbodes. The winning of this town was ſo ſurpriſing,

priſing, that O-Neal, at the hearing of it, ſwore a great oath, " that if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by ſtorm, if he ſhould ſtorm hell he would take it."

§. 4. The ſlaughter at Tredagh, though cruel in itſelf, had the good effect that the general deſired. All the other places round about ſurrendered, few of them waiting ſo much as for a ſummons. Dundalk was abandoned ſo precipitately, that the garriſon left their cannon behind them on the plat-forms. Cromwell therefore, finding his name ſufficient at this time in the north, did not march any farther that way, but returned to beſiege Wexford, taking in Killingkeric and Arkloe caſtle by the way.

Having ſummoned Wexford, and received a dubious anſwer from colonel Synnot, the governor, the general waited till he might have an explanation. In this view he correſponded with him by ſeveral papers. But finding that Synnot's whole intent was to protract time, while the earl of Caſtlehaven with 500 men came to his aſſiſtance, Cromwell applied himſelf to ſtorming the caſtle. A ſmall breach being made, commiſſioners were ſent from the beſieged, to treat of a ſurrender: but it was now too late; for no ceſſation having been agreed upon, the guns continued firing, the breach was made wider, the guard quitted the caſtle, and ſome of Cromwell's men entered it. The enemy obſerving this, quitted their ſtations in all parts: ſo that the others getting over the walls, poſſeſſed themſelves of the town without any great oppoſition. Here, as well as at Drogheda, none were ſuffered to live that they found in arms. In this town great riches were taken, and ſome ſhips ſeized in the harbour, that had much interrupted

the trade on that coaſt: and the ſeverity here uſed had the ſame effect as at Drogheda; the terror ſpread to all the towns and forts along the coaſt, as far as Dublin, which ſaved the general the trouble of ſummoning them.

§. 5. The winter now coming on, and it being a very wet ſeaſon, Cromwell's troops ſuffered much from the weather, and the flux then raging amongſt them Many thought theſe reaſons ſhould have obliged him, for the preſent, to put a ſtop to his conqueſts; but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The difficulties the marquis of Ormond met with in bringing a new army into the field, the antient diſagreement again breaking out between the popiſh confederates and him, the ſecret intelligence held by Cromwell in the province of Munſter, and the mighty affairs that called him back to England, were to him more powerful motives for continuing the war, than the winter was to interrupt his progreſs.

Being thus reſolved, he marches towards Roſs, a ſtrong town upon the Barrow. The lord Taaffe was governor of this place, who had a potent garriſon with him; and the better to ſecure it, Ormond, Caſtlehaven, and the lord Ardes, cauſed 1500 men to be boated over to reinforce it; which was done in ſight of Cromwell's army, who were not able to hinder it. However, the lord-general no ſooner came before the town, but he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender it to the parliament of England; declaring, that "he endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to avoid the effuſion of blood." No anſwer was at preſent returned, till the great guns began to play; when the governor, being apprehenſive of the ſame uſage that other garriſons had met with, was willing to treat; which being allowed, they came

to

to this agreement: That the town be delivered up to the lord-general Cromwell, and they within march away with bag and baggage, to Kilkenny." Fifteen hundred of them accordingly did ſo; but 600, being Engliſh, revolted to Cromwell. In the mean time Kingſale, Cork, Youghall, Bandon bridge, and other garriſons, voluntarily declared for the conqueror; which places proved of great uſe in the reduction of Munſter, and of all Ireland, Sir Charles Coot and colonel Venables were very ſucceſsful in the north; and lord Broghill and colonel Hewſon did good ſervice in other places.

§. 6. Cromwell being maſter of Roſs, laid a bridge of boats over the Barrow, and ſat down before Duncannon: but this place being ſo well provided with neceſſaries, that he judged it would be loſing time to tarry there, he quickly roſe, and marched into the county of Kilkenny, where the marquis of Ormond, being joined by Inchiquin, ſeemed reſolved to give him battle. Ormond's army, both horſe and foot, was ſuperior to Cromwell's, which was much weakened by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other diſeaſes: notwithſtanding which, the marquis, upon the approach of the enemy, drew off, without making any attempts, or ſtriking one ſtroke. Hereupon Eniſtegoe, a little town five miles from Roſs, was reduced by colonel Abbot; and colonel Reynolds coming before Carrick, divided his men into two parties, with one of which he entered a gate, while he amuſed the garriſon with the other, and ſo took about a hundred priſoners, without the loſs of one man.

Cromwell, after this, took Paſſage-fort, and made an attempt upon Waterford: but the winter being far advanced, and the weather very bad, he

he thought proper to retire into quarters for a ſhort time. In the mean while Paſſage-fort was attacked by a party of the enemy, who were totally routed by colony Zankey, and 350 of them taken priſoners. Several other ſkirmiſhes were maintained with the like ſucceſs: but the loſs of lieutenant-general Jones, who died at Wexford of a violent fever, ſtruck a damp upon all, eſpecially as it was followed by that of other brave commanders, and abundance of the common ſoldiers. Recruits, however, arrived daily from England; and ſome of the Iriſh under Ormond, as well as the Engliſh, revolted to the victorious Cromwell; who made great uſe of the animoſities between them and Ormond, endeavouring in the mean time, by the moſt artful inſinuations, to draw over the marquis himſelf to the intereſt of the parliament.

Even while the army was in winter-quarters, our vigilant general could not be inactive. He viſited all the garriſons that were in his poſſeſſion in Munſter, and gave orders for affairs both civil and military. When the mayor of Kinſale delivered him the keys, he returned them not again, according to cuſtom, but gave them to colonel Stubber the governor; his reaſon for which was, that the mayor being both a papiſt and an Iriſhman, he could not ſafely be truſted with ſuch an important place.

§. 7. The parliament at this time being apprehenſive of ſome deſigns carrying on in Scotland, which might require the lieutenant's preſence, ordered the ſpeaker to write for him over: but the letter not reaching him till the latter end of March, he had taken the field before, and proceeded far in the reduction of Ireland. Tho' he came not to winter-quarters till December, yet ſcarce was January over, but he divided his army into two bodies,

bodies, the more to diſtreſs the marquis of Ormond. One party he commanded himſelf, and gave the other to Ireton; and theſe were to march into the enemy's quarters two ſeveral ways, and to meet near Kilkenny. Cromwell's rout was over the Blackwater, towards the counties of Limerick and Tipperary; and by the way he took in a caſtle called Kilkenny, Cloghern-houſe, and Raghill-caſtle.

Having with difficulty paſſed the river Shewer, at ten one night he arrived before Feathard, a garriſon town under one Butler, and immediately ſent a trumpeter to ſummon it. But they ſhot at the trumpeter, and declared, that the night was not a fit time to ſend a ſummons in. Hereupon Cromwell prepared to ſtorm, which brought the governor to a treaty, and the next morning Feathard was ſurrendered upon articles.

Calan, a ſtrong place, defended by three caſtles, was next to be attacked. Here he was joined by Ireton, Reynolds, and Zankey, whoſe ſoldiers together made a conſiderable body. They ſtormed the caſtles one after another, and carried them all in the ſpace of one day: upon which the whole garriſon, except Butler's troops, who ſurrendered before the cannon were fired, were put to the ſword. After the ſoldiers had refreſhed themſelves in the town, they marched back to Feathard, by the way taking the caſtles of Cnoctoter and Bullynard; which were ſoon followed by Kiltenon, Arſenon, Coher, and Dundrum, all very conſiderable places.

§. 8. Cromwell had now entirely ſubdued all the places of importance, except Limerick, Waterford, Clonmell, Galloway, and Kilkenny. Theſe were all towns of great ſtrength, and would neceſſarily take up ſome time. He reſolved, however, to attempt the laſt, and in that view, ſent orders

orders to colonel Hewſon, the new governor of Dublin, to bring him all the forces he could draw out of the the garriſons on that ſide. Accordingly Hewſon joined him near Gowram, a populous and ſtrong town, governed by one Hammond, who returned a very reſolute anſwer upon being ſummoned to ſurrender. The great guns upon this began to play, and did ſuch execution, as obliged Hammond to demand a parley: but the only terms he could now obtain were, "that the common ſoldiers ſhould have their lives, and the officers be diſpoſed of as the general thought fit." The place being thus delivered up, Hammond, and all the commiſſion officers but one, were the next day ſhot to death; and the popiſh prieſt, their chaplain, was hanged.

Proceeding now to Kilkenny (which, beſides its ordinary garriſon, had been reinforced from the neighbouring towns that ſurrendered) when he came within a mile of the walls, Cromwell ſummoned ſir Walter Butler the governor, and the corporation, to deliver up the city: which they refuſing to do, he drew nearer, and erected a battery in the moſt convenient place, notwithſtanding the oppoſition from within. With about 100 ſhot a breach was opened, at which the ſoldiers engaged the enemy, while colonel Ewer, with 1000 foot, gained another part of the city, called Iriſh-town. The beſieged, however, were ſo deſperate, that neither could Cromwell enter the breach, nor Ewer gain the bridge which led into the heart of the place. But a little conſideration brought the governor to better meaſures, and after a day's debate, it was agreed, "that the caſtle and city ſhould be delivered up to Cromwell, with all the arms, ammunition, and publick ſtores; that the inhabitants ſhould be protected in their perſons, goods, and eſtates, only paying two thouſand pounds

pounds to Cromwell's army; and that the governor, officers, and ſoldiers, ſhould march away with bag and baggage." Thus was Kilkenny, which had been the nurſery of the late rebellion, and the reſidence of the ſupreme council, reduced to the parliament's obedience in leſs than a week, chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable induſtry of the lord-general Cromwell, who frequently, on theſe deſperate occaſions, expoſed himſelf to the moſt imminent dangers.

§. 9. Having ſettled the affairs of Kilkenny, Cromwell marched to Carrick, in order to proceed on further action. But firſt he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker of the parliament, "giving an account of the taking of Kilkenny, and ſeveral other places; confeſſing that he had received many private intimations of the parliament's pleaſure, as to his coming home; but that as he did not receive his honour's letter till the army was in the field, and had not ſince heard any thing farther of the parliament's reſolution, he thought himſelf obliged to wait for a more clear expreſſion of their will, to which he was always ready to ſubmit."

About this time the marquis of Ormond, and his aſſociates, appointed a meeting in Weſt-meath, to conſider of ſome way to ſupport their cauſe, which was ruined almoſt every where. The reſult of their conference was, that they ſhould moleſt the Engliſh in their quarters, thereby to protract time, till they had an opportunity of leaving the kingdom. But Cromwell, without dreading their motions, ſat down before Clonmell, in which was a garriſon of 2000 foot, and 120 horſe: and as ſoon as a ſiege was formed, he detached colonel Reynolds and ſir Theophilus Jones, with 2500 horſe, foot, and dragoons, to prevent Ormond's deſign. Sir Charles Coot alſo took the field

field with 3000 men, with the ſame intent. But the marquis ſhifting from place to place, to avoid fighting, colonel Reynolds, that his men might not remain idle, beſieged Tecrogham. In the mean time the lord Broghill, with another detachment, defeated the biſhop of Roſs, who was marching with 5000 men to relieve Clonmell. Many conſiderable perſons were here taken, and among them the biſhop himſelf, who was carried to a caſtle kept by his own forces, and there hanged before the walls, in ſight of the garriſon; which ſo diſcouraged them, that they immediately ſurrendered to the parliament's forces. This biſhop was uſed to ſay, "There was no way of curing the Engliſh, but by hanging them."

Theſe advantages were a ſpur to the ſoldiers that lay before Clonmell, and made them reſolute in the buſineſs, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they met with. The active Cromwell, having ſummoned O-Neal, the governor, to no purpoſe, proceeded to his uſual method of ſtorming. The great guns being planted, a breach was ſoon opened, which the beſiegers courageouſly entered, and, in ſpite of the bravery of the beſieged, kept their ground, till, after four hours fighting, with doubtful ſucceſs, they carried all before them. This was looked upon to be the hotteſt ſtorm, of ſo long continuance, that had ever been known. But the ſubduing of Clonmell, tho' with ſo much difficulty, occaſioned the ſurrender of ſeveral other garriſons.

§. 10. While the lord-general was thus victorious in one part of Ireland, his deputies, with the parties under them, were no leſs ſucceſsful in others: and his proceeding ſo proſperouſly in his affairs, and obtaining thereby ſo great ſway, occaſioned a book to be diſperſed about this time, entitled,

titled, "The character of king Cromwell;" which, tho' ſuppreſſed as a libel, was received as a kind of prophecy. And indeed, by his good government in Ireland, both in civil and military affairs, and the great ſucceſs of it, Cromwell obtained a very great intereſt, both here and there, both in the officers of the army and the parliament: only the Scots and preſbyterians were generally no favourers of him. He was now preparing to take Waterford and Duncannon, and had actually blocked up Waterford, when about the middle of May, by a new order, or rather requeſt of the parliament, he was obliged to leave the finiſhing of his conqueſts to his ſon-in-law Ireton, whom, for that purpoſe, he conſtituted lord-deputy. And ſo fortunate was Ireton in his commiſſion, that tho' he died of the plague in a year and a half after, he took Waterford and Limerick, and left very few places in the hands of the enemy.

Cromwell was in Ireland about nine months, in which inconſiderable time, he performed more than any king or queen of England had been able to do in a much greater number of years. Before he left the kingdom, in order to weaken the Iriſh, he contrived means for tranſporting no leſs than 40,000 of them out of their country into foreign ſervice, few of whom ever returned again. He alſo ſettled the civil affairs, and procured a more ſummary way of adminiſtring juſtice than ever yet was known. After which he embarked for England, and ſailed home, as it were, in triumph. At Briſtol, he was twice ſaluted by the great guns, and welcomed in with many other demonſtrations of joy. On Hounſlow-heath he was met by general Fairfax, many members of parliament and officers of the army, and multitudes of the common people. Coming to Hyde-

park,

park, the great guns were fired off, and colonel Barkſtead's regiment, which was drawn up for that purpoſe, gave him ſeveral vollies with their ſmall arms. Thus in a triumphant manner he entered London, amidſt a croud of attendants, friends and citizens, and was received with the higheſt acclamations. And having reſumed his place in parliament, the ſpeaker, in an elegant ſpeech, returned him the thanks of the houſe for his great and faithful ſervices in Ireland. After which, the lord-lieutenant gave them a particular account of the ſtate and condition of that kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Cromwell's *war againſt the* Scots *under king* Charles *the ſecond.*

§. 1. THE laſt war in which Cromwell was perſonally engaged was againſt the Scots, and other partizans of king Charles the ſecond. In leſs than a month after his return from Ireland, he was employ'd in this new expedition, which took him up much time and labour. The Scots, upon the late king's death, had proclaimed his ſon their ſovereign, and ſent commiſſioners to the Hague, to acquaint his majeſty on what terms they would receive him; the chief of which was, "that he ſhould conform to both the covenants, and oblige others to do the ſame." The treaty between them was long on foot, his majeſty, in the mean time, ſhifting from place to place for his ſecurity; till at laſt, by his granting a commiſſion to the marquis of Montroſe, who was hated by the kirk, the king had like to have ſpoiled all. But upon the execution of the marquis, and a freſh application from the covenanters, he conſented in June, 1650, to all their demands, and arrived in Scotland on the 16th of that month, having ſigned the covenants before he ſet foot on ſhore.

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The parliament of Scotland, hereupon, began to raiſe forces for the king's ſervice, with which, it was ſuppoſed, they intended to invade England. While theſe preparations were carrying on in Scotland, the commonwealth here were providing for their own ſecurity; and it was with a view to this, that they had ſent for Cromwell from Ireland. He, as ſoon as he arrived, perſuaded the council not to be behind-hand with the enemy, but to prevent the Scots invaſion of England, by carrying the war directly into Scotland. Some ſcrupulous men, however, and among them general Fairfax, objected to this, as being contrary to the covenant between the two nations. To which it was anſwered, "That the Scots had already broken the covenant, and that therefore it was not now binding on the one ſide, after it had been diſſolved on the other." So that they came at length to this reſolution, "That having a form'd army, well provided and experienced, they would march it forthwith into Scotland, to prevent the Scots marching into England, and the miſeries that might attend ſuch an invaſion." The lord-general Fairfax, being again conſulted herein, ſeem'd at firſt to like the deſign; but having been afterwards perſuaded by the Preſbyterian miniſters, and his own lady, who was a great patroneſs of them, he declared, "That he was not ſatisfy'd that there was a juſt ground for the parliament of England to ſend their army to invade Scotland; but in caſe the Scots ſhould invade England, then he was ready to engage againſt them in defence of his own country." The council of ſtate being ſomewhat troubled at the lord general's ſcruples, appointed a committee to confer with him, in order to ſatisfy him of the juſtice and lawfulneſs of this undertaking. The chief members of this committee were Crom-

Cromwell, Lambert, Harriſon, St. John, and Whitelock, &c.

§. 2. Cromwell opened the conference; and after ſome previous diſcourſe between the lord-general and the committee, his excellency acquainted them with the ground of his diſſatisfaction, declaring, "That he did not ſee the Scots had given ſufficient cauſe for this invaſion of their country by the Engliſh." Upon which Cromwell proceeded thus: "I confeſs, my lord, that if they had given no cauſe to invade them, it would not be juſtifiable for us to do it; and to make war upon them without a ſufficient ground for it, will be contrary to that which in conſcience we ought to do, and diſpleaſing both to God and good men. But, my lord, if they have invaded us, as your lordſhip knows they have done ſince the national league and covenant, and contrary to it, in that action of duke Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the parliament of that kingdom, and ſo the act of the whole nation by their repreſentatives; and if they now give us too much cauſe of ſuſpicion, that they intend another invaſion upon us, joining with their king, with whom they have made a full agreement, without the aſſent or privity of this commonwealth; and are very buſy at this preſent in raiſing forces and money to carry on their deſign: if theſe things are not a ſufficient ground and cauſe for us to endeavour to provide for the ſafety of our own country, and to prevent the miſeries which an invaſion of the Scots would bring upon us, I humbly ſubmit to your excellency's judgment. That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is known to all, wherein God was pleas'd to bleſs us with ſucceſs againſt them: and that they now intend a new invaſion upon us, I do as

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really believe, and have as good intelligence of it, as we can have of any thing that is not yet acted. Therefore I ſay, my lord, that upon theſe grounds, I think we have a moſt juſt cauſe to begin, or rather to return and requite their hoſtility firſt begun upon us; and thereby to free our country (if God ſhall be pleas'd to aſſiſt us, and I doubt not but he will) from the great miſery and calamity of having an army of Scots within our country. That there will be a war between us, I fear is unavoidable. Your excellency will ſoon determine whether it be better to have this war in the bowels of another country, or of our own; and that it will be in one of them, I think is without ſcruple." But no arguments could prevail on the general, who declared that his conſcience was not ſatisfy'd as to the juſtice of this war; and therefore, that he might be no hindrance to the parliament's deſigns, he deſired to lay down his commiſſion. Upon which Cromwell ſpoke again, as follows:

"I am very ſorry your lordſhip ſhould have thoughts of laying down your commiſſion, by which God hath bleſſed you in the performance of ſo many eminent ſervices for the parliament. I pray, my lord, conſider all your faithful ſervants, us who are under you, and deſire to ſerve under no other general. It would be a great diſcouragement to all of us, and a great diſcouragement to the affairs of the parliament, for our noble general to entertain any thoughts of laying down his commiſſion. I hope your lordſhip will never give ſo great an advantage to the publick enemy, nor ſo much diſhearten your friends, as to think of laying down your commiſſion." But all this would not do: the general ſtill continu'd in the ſame mind, and concluding thus: "What would you have me do? As far as my conſcience will give way, I am willing to join with you ſtill in the ſervice of

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the parliament; but where the conſcience is not ſatisfied, none of you, I am ſure, will engage in any ſervice; and that is my condition in this, and therefore I muſt deſire to be excuſed."

Cromwell and the other officers in this committee were moſt earneſt in perſuading the general to continue his commiſſion; and yet, 'tis ſaid, there was cauſe enough to believe that they did not overmuch deſire it. Ludlow ſays, that Cromwell preſs'd the council of ſtate, that notwithſtanding the unwillingneſs of the lord Fairfax to command upon this occaſion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; profeſſing, for his own part, "that he would rather chuſe to ſerve under him in his poſt, than to command the greateſt army in Europe." He alſo informs us, that the forementioned committee was appointed upon the motion of lieutenant-general Cromwell, "who, ſays he, acted his part ſo to the life, that I really thought him in earneſt." How far he was ſo, it is impoſſible to ſay with any certainty.

Thus Cromwell and his party carried it againſt the general, who thereupon laid down his commiſſion, tho' he was ſeemingly much perſuaded to the contrary. The parliament were at no loſs for one to ſucceed in the great office; for having ſufficiently experienced the valour, conduct, and faithfulneſs of Cromwell, who had in fact been long at the head of the army, tho' only lieutenant-general in name, they ſoon voted, one and all, that he ſhould be their general; and ſo an act paſſed, "for conſtituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell, eſq; to be captain-general in chief of all the forces raiſed, and to be raiſed, by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of England."

§. 3.

§. 3. Before his departure for Scotland, Cromwell mov'd the council that he might be eas'd of the affairs of Ireland. But he could only obtain to have five others joined with him in the commiſſion for governing that kingdom, who were Ludlow, Ireton, colonel John Jones, major Salway, and one Mr. Weaver; any three of whom were to make a committee. And now the lord-general ſet out for the north, after the army, and received great demonſtrations of reſpect as he paſſed along. At York he was attended, and magnificently entertained, by the corporation; but ſtaid no longer than to order ſupplies for the army.

The committee of eſtates in Scotland, before this, ſeem'd to be ſurpris'd at the news of an Engliſh army's marching northwards. They ſent a letter to the ſpeaker of the Engliſh parliament, ſetting forth their conſternation, and declaring "that the forces they were raiſing were only for their own defence; deſiring to know, whether the Engliſh army, now on the march, was to act on the offenſive or defenſive." They wrote alſo to ſir Arthur Haſlerigg, governor of Newcaſtle, major-general Lambert, and the lord-general Cromwell, in much the ſame terms. On the other hand, the parliament of England publiſh'd a declaration of the grounds and reaſons of their army's advance, "accuſing the Scots of acting contrary to agreement, and having invaded England before under duke Hamilton, and now preparing for another invaſion, in proclaiming Charles Stuart king of England and Ireland, though they had no authority in theſe kingdoms, and in declaring againſt the Engliſh parliament and army, as ſectaries, and ranking them with malignants and papiſts."

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The Scots, perceiving that the parliament of England was not to be impoſed on, now laboured by all poſſible means to render their army odious; and ſo did they terrify the common people by miſrepreſentations of Cromwell's commiſſion, as if he was to deſtroy all he met with, that they were hardly ſatisfied by a declaration of the lord-general and the army, reminding them "of the behaviour of the Engliſh forces when they were before in Scotland, and proteſting that none but thoſe who had endeavour'd to engage foreign princes againſt the commonwealth of England, or had exerciſed actual hoſtility, ſhould have the leaſt violence offered to them, either in body or goods."

In the mean time leaving York, Cromwell came to Northallerton and Darlington, being ſaluted, as he paſſed by, with the ordnance. At Durham he was met with by Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, who conducted him to Newcaſtle, and there gallantly entertain'd him. From Newcaſtle he haſtened to Berwick, and caus'd a general review of the army on Haggerton-moor, where he was receiv'd with great demonſtrations of joy, by a gallant body of 5000 horſe, and 11,000 foot. From Berwick he ſent the army's declaration into Scotland, containing the grounds of their march into that kingdom. One copy hereof was conveyed to the Scotch general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of eſtates.

§. 4. While the lord-general was thus upon the verge of Scotland, he drew out the army upon a hill, within Berwick bounds, where they had a full proſpect of the adjacent country, and made a ſpeech to them, exhorting them to be faithful and courageous, and then not to doubt of a bleſſing from God, and all encouragement from himſelf. This ſpeech was anſwerfd with loud and unani-

mous acclamations from the ſoldiers; who being ordered to march, entered Scotland with a ſhout. That night they quartered near the lord Mordington's caſtle, where the general cauſed proclamation to be made, that none, on pain of death, ſhould offer violence to the perſons or effects of any in Scotland not found in arms; and that none, on the ſame penalty, ſhould ſtraggle half a mile from their quarters, without ſpecial licence.

The next day they arrived at Dunbar, where they were recruited with proviſions, by ſhips ſent thither from England for that purpoſe: the Scots having taken care, before-hand, that the country from Berwick to Edinburgh ſhould afford them nothing. From Dunbar they marched to Haddington, within twelve miles of Edinburgh. And in all this march they did not ſee one Scotchman under ſixty years of age, nor any youth above ſix, and but very few women and children; the Scotch miniſters having aſſured the people, that the Engliſh would cut the throats of all the men between ſixty and ſixteen years of age, cut off the right-hands of all the youth between ſixteen and ſix, burn the womens breaſts with hot irons, and deſtroy all before them.

§. 5. After the army's remove from Haddington, they underſtood that the enemy was diſpoſed to give them battle on a heath call'd Gladſmoor. The Engliſh hereupon took care to poſſeſs themſelves of the place before them: but the Scots did not think fit to appear, notwithſtanding that the general did all that lay in his power to provoke them to it. Some ſkirmiſhes however happened, about the poſſeſſion of a place called Arthur's-hill, which the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of.

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As he could not draw the Scots to action, Cromwell intended to have begun with them; but was prevented by a great rain, and oblig'd to draw off his army towards Muſcleborough. The enemy, upon his retreat, did all they could to diſtreſs his army, and put his rear-guard into ſome confuſion; but were ſoon repulſed by major-general Lambert, and colonel Whalley, the king ſtanding all the while on a caſtle to ſee the encounter. Between three and four o'clock the next morning, the Engliſh were attack'd in their quarters, at Muſcleborough, with great fury, the enemy being animated by ſome of their miniſters: but victory was ſtill on their ſide, for they routed the Scots, and purſued them within half a league of Edinburgh, killing ſeveral, and taking many priſoners. Cromwell got much applauſe after this action, by ſending the chief of the Scotch officers, who were wounded and taken, in his own coach to Edinburgh. This vindicated him, in a great meaſure, from the reports that had been given out of his cruelty.

§. 6. Having march'd again to Dunbar, to take in freſh ſupplies, the general gave away a great quantity of corn among the poor of the place, who were in extreme want. In the mean time the Scots miniſters at Edinburgh, imagining he was quite retired, gave publick thanks to God, for putting terror into the hearts of the Engliſh ſectaries: but his ſudden return to Muſcleborough made them aſhamed of what they had done, and proved that general Leſley, who was not ſo confident as to be off his guard, could judge better of events than his enthuſiaſtical teachers.

An equivocal meſſage now arriving from Leſley, concerning the ſtate of the preſent difference, and full of inſipid diſtinctions about the king and the

cauſe, the Engliſh general gave him to underſtand, that he was not to be thus amus'd, but would take the intentions of the Scots from what they had continued to act; concluding, "That if Leſley was reſolved to come to a battle, he had a fair opportunity of doing it; otherwiſe, to what purpoſe did they both wait?"

Finding he could not provoke the Scots to an engagement, Cromwell removed to Pencland hills, and there pitch'd his tents within ſight of Edinburgh. About the ſame time he executed a ſerjeant, for plundering a houſe contrary to his declaration. He alſo took in ſome ſmall garriſons, and, at the requeſt of the Scots, appointed a conference, in which he was aſſured, "that when opportunity ſerved, it ſhould be ſeen that they wanted not courage to give him battle." While he lay here, he advanced one day at the head of a party, in order to ſhew how ready he was to engage; when one of the Scots, who knew him, fired a carbine at him: upon which Cromwell called out with great compoſure, and told him, "that if he had been one of his ſoldiers, he ſhould have been caſhiered for firing ſo wide of the mark."

§. 7. At laſt, on the 30th of Auguſt, Cromwell drew out his army from Muſcleborough, and marched towards Haddington. The Scots obſerving the Engliſh army to retire, follow'd them cloſe; and falling upon the rear guard of horſe in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of foot. Which alarm, coming ſuddenly upon them, put them into ſome diſorder. But the Scots wanting courage to proſecute the advantage, and withal, a cloud overſhadowing the moon, gave the Engliſh an opportunity to ſecure themſelves, and cover the main body. Being come to Haddington, where they

they were in continual danger of being aſſaulted by the enemy, the general ordered a ſtrict watch to be kept, to prevent the worſt. The Scots conceiving they had now more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the Engliſh quarters on the weſt end of the town; but were ſoon repulſed and ſent farther off. The next day, being the firſt of September, the Scots being drawn up at the weſt end of the town in a very advantageous place, the Engliſh drew out on the eaſt into an open field, very fit for both armies to engage in; where having waited ſome hours for the coming of the Scots, and perceiving they would not fight but upon an advantage, they, purſuant to their former reſolution, marched away to Dunbar.

The Scotch army followed at a convenient diſtance, being reinforced with the addition of three regiments; and ſeeing the Engliſh lodged in Dunbar, hovering about them upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and deſtruction, and looking down upon them as their ſure prey.

The lord general was now in great diſtreſs, and look'd on himſelf as undone. His army was in a very weak and ſickly condition, and in great want of proviſions, whereby their courage alſo was very much abated; while the Scots were ſtout and hearty, in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground. And beſides, they more than doubled the Engliſh in number, being about twenty ſeven thouſand, whereas the others were but twelve thouſand. Some ſay they had in their army about thirty thouſand horſe and foot; and the Engliſh were reduced to ten thouſand at moſt. General Cromwell, with this ſickly company, was now hemmed in on every ſide by thoſe greater numbers of his enemies; who, to make ſure work, had

alſo by a ſtrong party ſecured Coberſpath, the only paſs between him and Berwick, thereby to hinder all proviſions or relief from thence, and to cut off all retreat from the Engliſh army, who had not above three days forage for their horſes. Thus were they reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits, ſo that they had now no way left, but either to give up themſelves a prey to their inſulting enemies, or to fight upon theſe unequal terms, and under thoſe great diſadvantages.

In this extremity the lord-general, on the 2d of September, called a council of war, in which, after ſome debate, it was reſolved to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day; and accordingly the ſeveral regiments were ordered to their reſpective poſts. Here we are told by biſhop Burnet, that Cromwell, under theſe preſſing difficulties, called his officers together to ſeek the Lord, as they expreſſed it: after which, he bid all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. Then walking in the earl of Roxburgh's gardens, that lay under the hill, and by proſpective glaſſes diſcerning a great motion in the Scotch camp; Cromwell thereupon ſaid, "God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us." And the biſhop ſays, that Cromwell loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards.

The Scots, it ſeems, had now at laſt reſolved to fight the Engliſh, and to that end were coming down the hill; where, if they had continued, the Engliſh could not have gone up to engage them without very great diſadvantage. This reſolution was contrary to Leſley's opinion; who, tho' he was in the chief command, had a committee of ſtates to give him his orders, among whom Wariſtoun was one. Theſe being weary of lying in

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the fields, thought that Leſley did not make haſte enough to deſtroy the army of the ſectaries, as they called them. Leſley, on the other hand, told them, that by lying there all was ſure, but that by engaging in action with brave and deſperate men, all might be loſt; and yet they ſtill preſſed him to fall on. Many have imagined that there was treachery in all this; but the fore-mentioned author ſays, he was perſuaded there was no treachery in it; only Wariſtoun was too hot, and Leſley was too cold, and yielded too eaſily to their humours, which he ſhould not have done. This reſolution of the Scots to fall upon the Engliſh was ſome time retarded by the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather; and in the mean while, as we have already obſerved, Cromwell reſolved to fall upon them.

§. 8. The night before the battle proving dreadfully rainy and tempeſtuous, the lord-general took more than ordinary care of himſelf and his army. He refreſhed his men in the town, and above all things ſecured his match locks againſt the weather, whilſt his enemies neglected theirs. The Scots were all the night employed in coming down the hill; and early in the morning, being Tueſday the third of September, before they were put in order, general Cromwell drew out a ſtrong party of horſe, and falling upon the horſe guards, made them retire. Then immediately his bodies both of horſe and foot advancing, the fight ſoon grew hot on all ſides; 'till after about an hour's diſpute, the whole numerous army of the Scots was totally routed. Two regiments ſtood their ground, and were almoſt all killed in their ranks. The reſt fled, and were purſued as far as Haddington with great execution. About four thouſand were ſlain on the place and in the purſuit, and ten

thouſand taken priſoners, many of whom were deſperately wounded. Fifteen thouſand arms, all the artillery and ammunition, with above two hundred colours, were taken; and all with the loſs of ſcarce three hundred Engliſh. Priſoners of note were ſir James Lumſdale lieutenant-general of the foot, the lord Libberton (who ſoon after died of his wounds) adjutant-general Bickerton, ſcout-maſter Campbel, ſir William Douglas, the lord Grandiſon, and colonel Gourdon; beſides twelve lieutenant-colonels, ſix majors, forty-two captains, and ſeventy-five lieutenants. The two Leſleys eſcaped to Edinburgh, which upon the news of this defeat was immediately quitted by his garriſon, and Leith reſolved to admit the conquerors, being not able to keep them out.

Thus this formidable army, which had ſo lately triumphed in a confident aſſurance of victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half ſo numerous, which at the ſame time was reduced almoſt to the laſt extremity. But this extremity making them fix upon a firm reſolution either to conquer or die, and withal, their falling ſo ſuddenly upon the Scots, when they ſo little expected them, but deſigned firſt to fall upon them, ſeem to be the true occaſion of this wonderful turn of affairs. The lord-general himſelf drew up a narrative of this memorable victory, and ſent it by a courier to the council of ſtate, who ordered it to be read in all the churches of London, with ſolemn thankſgiving: and the colours taken in this battle being ſent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in Weſtminſter-hall.

§. 9. This great action (the moſt critical one that ever Cromwell was engaged in, and which

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for that reaſon we have related more particularly than many others) being thus happily ended, the Engliſh ſoldiers were inſpired with new courage. The lord-general, ſoon after this battle was over, ſent Lambert to attempt Edinburgh, the capital, and ſecure Leith, that the Engliſh ſhips might the more conveniently ſupply the army. Lambert took poſſeſſion of both on the ſame day, they having been deſerted by the Scots, and found there ſeveral pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſions. But tho' the Engliſh were maſters of the town, Edinburgh-caſtle ſtill remained in the hands of the enemy: yet this, tho' judged impregnable, was at laſt reduced by our victorious general.

Several things paſſed, however, before the ſiege of that fortreſs was undertaken. Cromwell invited the Edinburgh miniſters in the caſtle to return to their cures; which they obſtinately refuſed, pretending they had no ſecurity for their perſons. On this occaſion ſeveral letters paſſed between the general, the governor, and theſe miniſters; who ſtill perſiſting in their ſtiff-necked way, the general cauſed Engliſh miniſters to officiate in their places. The chief magiſtrates of Edinburgh, the committees of the church and ſtate, and the remains of the army from Dunbar, all retired to Sterling, in order to recover their ſhattered ſtrength. But all the methods they could uſe ſignified little; for the Scots were divided among themſelves, and ſplit into many parties and factions, which Cromwell, no doubt, knew how to manage to his advantage, while the motions of his army round about Edinburgh, kept the whole country in awe. Several places, in the mean time, were taken in by his deputies, and a conſiderable victory was gained by Lambert over colonel Ker, at Hamilton; whereby the power of the remonſtrators, one of

the moſt violent parties then ſubſiſting, was entirely ruined.

§. 10. The taking of Edinburgh caſtle ſoon followed. This is the moſt conſiderable ſtronghold in Scotland, having all the requiſite advantages both of nature and art. It is ſeated upon a high abrupt rock, has but one entrance, and that ſteep, and by which only two or three can go abreaſt. Beſides, it overlooks and commands all the places about it; ſo that Cromwell's men were often galled by the cannon from thence, in their quarters at Edinburgh.

When Cromwell came firſt before this ſtrong place, which was not long after the defeat at Dunbar, he ſummoned the governor, colonel Dundaſs, to deliver it up to him; which having no effect, he began to conſult how to reduce it by force. Nothing encouraged the attempting it by ſtorm; and all probable ways being debated, it was at laſt reſolved to force it by mines. In order for this work, miners were ſent for, and toward the latter end of September, the galleries were begun in the night; which the beſieged no ſooner ſaw, but they fell to firing upon them. But this proved no impediment to the Engliſh, who, with indefatigable labour, wrought through the earth till they came to the main rock. This put them to a ſtand, but did not make them give over; for having made holes in the rock, they filled them full of powder, and endeavoured to make it fly by firing.

But this mining work going but ſlowly on, the lord-general, fearing he ſhould not be able to blow the caſtle into the air, endeavoured now to level it with the ground; and to that end, he raiſed a battery fortify'd with gabions and other contrivances, deſigning to play inceſſantly from thence with cannons

nons and mortars. The governor was very much amazed at this, and began to think it a vain thing to endeavour to withſtand the Engliſh induſtry; though he did his utmoſt to anſwer the expectations of thoſe by whom he was intruſted. The battery being raiſed to a convenient height, 4 mortar-pieces and 6 battering guns were forthwith mounted againſt the caſtle. But before the word of command was given, the lord-general thought fit once more to ſummon the governor, in the following terms; "That he being reſolved to uſe ſuch means as were put into his hands, for the reducing of the caſtle, did, for preventing further miſery, demand the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions." To this the governor returned this anſwer, "That being intruſted by the eſtates of Scotland, for the keeping of the caſtle, he could not deliver it up without leave from them: and therefore he deſired ten days time to ſend to them, and receive their anſwer." But the lord-general knowing his time was precious, made this ſudden reply, "That it concerned him not to know the obligations of them that truſted him; but that he might have honourable terms for himſelf, and thoſe that were with him: but he could not give liberty to him to conſult with the committee of eſtates."

'Twas deſigned that this parley ſhould continue two days; but ſome great ſhot flying from the caſtle before, orders were given to try the mortar-pieces, three with ſhells, and the fourth with ſtones. Which being done accordingly, the governor returned an anſwer to the general's laſt meſſage; in which "he adjured him that liberty might be granted to him to ſend to the committee of eſtates: and ſaid, that he would be very willing to receive information from thoſe of his country-

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men whom he could truſt." To this the general replied, " That whoever he would appoint to come to him, ſhould have liberty for one hour; but to ſend to the committee of the eſtates he could not grant," The governor took no notice of this, till the mortar-pieces and great guns had for ſome ſmall time play'd againſt the caſtle. This moved him to ſend forth a drum, deſiring a conference with the provoſt of Aberdeen, and one more then in Edinburgh; to which the general readily conſented. But they knowing it to be an affair of the utmoſt importance, refuſed to concern themſelves in it, leaving the governor to take his own courſe. Hereupon Dundaſs was in great perplexity, till having reſolved the matter in his mind, he at laſt came to this reſult, to acquit himſelf manfully in the defence of the place. Accordingly a red enſign was immediately hung out in defiance, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall. Upon this, the lord general ſent in upon them ſuch continual ſhowers of ſhot, that the governor in a ſhort time offered to ſurrender, if his former requeſt, of ſending to the committee, might be granted. But this being ſtill refuſed, Dundaſs thought it not good to hold out any longer againſt ſuch violent aſſaults; and ſo entering upon a treaty with the lord-general, came to an agreement; Firſt, that the caſtle, the cannon, arms, and ammunition, and furniture of war, be delivered up to Cromwell: Secondly, that the Scots have liberty to carry away their publick regiſters, public moveables, private evidences and writs: Thirdly, that thoſe goods in the caſtle belonging to any perſon, the owners ſhould have reſtored to them: Fourthly, that the governor, and all military officers, and ſoldiers might depart without moleſtation to Bruntiſland in Fife.

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According to theſe articles, this ſtrong caſtle, which gloried in its virginity, as having never before yielded to any conqueror, was, after a ſiege of three months delivered up to Cromwell on the 24th day of December; whereby there alſo fell into his hands fifty-three pieces of ordnance, ſome of them remarkable both for ſize and beauty, 8,000 arms, fourſcore barrels of powder, and all the king's hangings, tapeſtry and jewels. The ſubduing of this place was ſo unexpected by ſeveral, that the Scots cried out, "That Cromwell took it only by ſilver bullets." But what appeared moſt ſtrange to others, and which made well on Cromwell's ſide, was, that the Scotch army, which lay not very far off, ſhould never attempt the relief of this moſt important place.

§. 11. The Scots were now intent upon the coronation of their king, which had been long delayed, that he might "humble himſelf for his father's ſins, and his own tranſgreſſions." But the vigorous proceedings of the Engliſh put them upon haſtening what of themſelves they were backward enough in; ſo on the firſt of January this ſolemnity was performed at Scone, his majeſty firſt ſubſcribing both the covenants. And now, in order to raiſe a powerful army, all perſons were promiſcuouſly admitted, and great numbers of honorary volunteers flocked to the king's ſtandard at Aberdeen. From thence he marched for Sterling, where having muſtered his army, he made duke Hamilton lieutenant-general, Leſley major-general, Middleton major-general of horſe, and Maſſey general of the Engliſh troops.

Cromwell, who obſerved theſe proceedings, was little concerned at them. He endeavoured, however, to ſecure all the garriſons ſouth of Firth: to which

which end he ordered colonel Fenwick to reduce Hume caſtle. Fenwick immediately applied himſelf to the work, and having drawn up his men, before the place, ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender. But the governor, one Cockburn, being a man of fancy, returned only a quibbling anſwer. However, he did not continue long in this merry humour: for Fenwick having planted a battery, and made a breach in the caſtle, was invited to a parley juſt as he was about to enter. But he would allow only quarters for life: which being accepted, the garriſon marched out, and captain Colliſon took poſſeſſion of it for the parliament. About the ſame time colonel Monk reduced Tantallon caſtle, after a vigorous defence.

The king and his party were now very active, and had got together an army of 20,000 men. But the earl of Eglinton, with ſome other commanders, going into the weſt to raiſe recruits, were ſeized by Lilburn, and ſent priſoners to Edinburgh.

§. 12. The Engliſh parliament, all this while, had a ſpecial regard to their army in Scotland. So careful were they to furniſh them with men, money, and proviſions, that as no army could better deſerve it, ſo no army ever had more encouragement. Yet both parliament and army ſuffered a great affliction in the ſickneſs of their general, who was now wholly confined to his chamber: and his not acting in perſon made the Scots believe, and confidently report, that he was certainly dead. To convince them however of their miſtake, he ordered a Scotch trumpeter, who was ſent to the Engliſh on a particular affair, to be brought before him, being then on the mending hand. But he relapſed ſoon after, and was

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in more danger than ever: yet the goodneſs of his conſtitution overcame his diſtemper, with the help of two eminent phyſicians that were ſent him by the parliament; ſo that he did not think fit to accept of the parliament's offer, of returning into England before his buſineſs was done.

No ſooner was he able to ſtir abroad, but he conſulted with his chief officers about carrying on the war. He encamped again on Pencland-hills, a place well known to the Engliſh army. From Pencland hills he marched to Newbridge, and from Newbridge to Lithgow, where, from the battlements of the caſtle, he could diſcern the Scotch army, as it lay encamped at Torwood, near Sterling, all guarded round with regular fortifications. Though the Engliſh could not poſſibly drive them out of this faſtneſs, yet the lord-general, to provoke them to fight, marched his army in battalia before them, and ſtood in that poſture eight hours. But finding all this ineffectual, he drew off to Glaſgow, in order to refreſh his men; which being done, he again purſued the Scotch army, who had now removed their camp, and in their ſight ſtormed and took Calendar-houſe, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and reſolutely defended.

§. 13. Finding he could by no means bring the Scots to a battle, Cromwell ſent colonel Overton, with near 2000 foot and horſe, to make an attempt on Fife, in order to cut off all ſupplies from the enemy. Overton croſſed the Forth, and landed his army at North-Ferry, in ſpite of the ſhowers of ſhot that were poured on him from the ſhore. He was followed by Lambert and Okey, with two regiments of horſe, and two of foot. The king now ſent 4000 men, under

der major-general Brown, and colonel Holborn, to drive the Engliſh back again over the Forth: but they were entirely defeated by Oliver's party, 2000 of them being killed on the ſpot, and moſt of the reſt taken priſoners. Among the latter was major-general Brown himſelf, who died ſoon after, for grief, as it was thought, of this misfortune.

The Engliſh now took in garriſons almoſt as faſt as they approached them. That of Inneſgary was ſo terrified at the late defeat, that they ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons to Lambert, leaving behind them all their proviſions, ammunition, and arms, except their ſwords only. The king himſelf and his whole army were in ſuch conſternation, that they ſuddenly decamped from Torwood, and marched into Sterling-park. Cromwell followed them at their heels, and paſſing over the ground where they ſo lately lay, he found there all their ſick men, and a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, which ſhewed in what a pannick they left the place.

§. 14. Cromwell's attempts were ſtill in vain; for the Scots would not come to an engagament. Hereupon he marched away to Lithgow, and ſent the greateſt part of his men over the Forth, in order to carry on the war in Fife. At Leith, whither he retired in perſon to provide for the ſupply of his ſoldiers, he received the welcome news of the ſurrender of Bruntiſland to Lambert; which place was of great advantage to the Engliſh, being a commodious harbour for the landing of ſtores.

Soon after he croſſed the Forth himſelf, and drawing the greateſt part of his army from Bruntiſland, with the train of artillery, he went to St. John's-town, the taking of which, he knew, would

would prevent the Highlanders from ſending any ſupplies, either of men or proviſions, to Sterling. But contrary to his expectation, the meſſenger whom he ſent to ſummon it, was denied admittance, and returned back with this ſhort anſwer from the townſmen, "that they were not in a condition to receive letters." The reaſon of this was, as it afterwards appeared, that the lord Duffus had the day before entered the town, with 1300 men. But the lord-general Cromwell, upon the refuſal of a new ſummons which he ſent, immediately drained the water out of the moats about the town, and falling to batter the walls, obliged the lord Duffus to ſurrender in one day's time.

§. 15. Theſe wonderful ſucceſſes of Cromwell in Scotland, threw the king into great perplexity, and put him upon making an irruption into England. His fate depended upon the ſucceſs of one battle, and being much nearer to England than Cromwell, who could not overtake him till ſeveral days, he was in hopes to ſtrengthen himſelf greatly, by the coming in of the well-affected in the north. The thing being reſolved, his majeſty ſent expreſſes to all his friends, that they might be ready to receive him, and on the 6th of Auguſt entered England by the way of Carliſle, with about 16,000 men. This ſudden invaſion alarmed the whole Britiſh nation, eſpecially the parliament, who were now ready to cenſure the conduct of their general. But he aſſured them by letter, "that he would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them, before they came near London." Accordingly he ordered Lambert to follow the king immediately with 7 or 800 horſe, and to draw as many others as he could from the country militia; and to moleſt the

the king's march as much as poſſible, by being near, and obliging him to march cloſe; not engaging his own party in any ſharp action, without a manifeſt advantage, but keeping himſelf entire till the army came up.

The militia of moſt counties was now drawn into the field, in order to obſtruct the king's march. An act was publiſhed, declaring "that no perſon ſhould hold any correſpondence with Charles Stuart, or his party, or give them encouragement or aſſiſtance, under pain of high treaſon." And now Cromwell, having ſettled the affairs of Scotland, and left Monk with a ſtrong party, to ſecure that kingdom, entered England with the remainder of the army; and on the 12th of Auguſt croſſed the Tine, upon the banks of which river he gave the ſoldiers ſome repoſe: the corporation of Newcaſtle, in the mean time, bringing them plenty of proviſions.

§. 17. The king's army marched thro' Lancaſhire, where at the head of it he was proclaimed, as he paſſed along, in all the market towns. But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; for beſides that the Scots daily deſerted him, the countries did not come in as he believed they would, being continually obſtructed by the forces of the common-wealth. The paſſage of Warrington bridge, in Cheſhire, was ſharply conteſted with him by Lambert; but at laſt his majeſty carried it, and continuing his march with great expedition, on the 23d of Auguſt he came to Worceſter, which he entered after ſome oppoſition; and looking upon it as a convenient place, he determined to ſettle there with his army, and wait the coming of the enemy. And that he might not be wanting in any thing that might tend to the preſervation of his forces, he ordered works

to be raiſed for better ſecurity. Then he ſent a ſummons to Macworth, governor of Shrewſbury, inviting him to yield up that garriſon; to which the governor returned a peremptory denial. He alſo ſent letters to ſir Thomas Middleton, to raiſe forces for him in Montgomeryſhire; but ſir Thomas detained the meſſenger priſoner, and ſent up the letter to the parliament. A day or two after the king had taken up his quarters in Worceſter, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the earl of Derby. This brave man was the only perſon, who made any conſiderable attempt to ſupport the king. He got together a body of 1500 horſe; but before he could join the king's army, colonel Lilburn ſet upon him near Wiggan, and entirely routed him. The earl himſelf, being wounded, retreated into Cheſhire with about eighty horſe, and from thence to the king at Worceſter.

In the mean time general Cromwell having refreſh'd his ſoldiers near Newcaſtle, immediately marched away by Rippon, Ferry-brigs, Doncaſter, Mansfield, and Coventry; and at Keinton joined with the reſt of the parliament's forces, under lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major general Deſborough, the lord Grey of Groby, major-general Lambert, and major-general Harriſon; making in all 30,000 men. The commonwealth had indeed, by their new levies, encreaſed their forces to a prodigious number; and England never before produced ſo many ſoldiers in ſo ſhort a time; for the ſtanding army, with thoſe other forces raiſed upon this occaſion, are ſaid to have amounted to above 60,000 men.

§. 17. The lord-general being come up, and having obſerved the poſture of the enemy's army, began

began with an attempt upon Upton-bridge, ſeven miles from Worceſter; deſigning there, if poſſible, to paſs over his army. Lambert was appointed to manage this affair, who immediately detached a ſmall party of horſe and dragoons, to ſee how feaſible the enterpriſe might be. This party coming to the bridge, found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this theſe daring fellows paſs'd, who finding the Scots took the alarm, preſently betook themſelves to a church for ſecurity. Hereupon Maſſey, who lay at Upton with about 60 dragoons, and 200 horſe, gave a camiſado on the church; but major-general Lambert, having paſſed over a new ſupply of horſe, fell furiouſly upon the enemy's party, and over-powering them, forced them to a retreat; which Maſſey ſupported with ſo much bravery, that ſometimes facing, then fighting, and ſo falling off, himſelf brought up the rear, and never quitted his ſtation, till he arrived with his men at Worceſter. The bridge being thus gain'd, all poſſible induſtry was uſed to make it up; ſo that Fleetwood's army quickly paſſed over; which ſtill marching forward, they laid a bridge over the Teame, which falls into the Severn, about a mile beneath Worceſter: and the general, in the mean time, cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the Severn on his ſide, for the better conjunction of the army, and that the enemy might be the more ſtraightened.

The Scots drawing out to oppoſe Fleetwood's paſſage, the lord-general reſolved to divert their deſign, or to oblige them to fight on great diſadvantage: to which end, himſelf in perſon led over the river two regiments of foot, colonel Hacker's horſe, and his own life-guard, on that ſide of Worceſter which he deſigned to attack. Whilſt this was doing, lieutenant general Fleetwood, aſ-

ſiſted

ſiſted by two regiments of foot, maintained a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the Scots had lined thick with muſqueteers. And indeed they ſtoutly maintained their ground, till colonel Blake's, Gibbons's, and Marſh's regiments came in, and joined the others againſt them; upon which they retreated to Powick-bridge, where they were again engaged by the colonels Haines, Cobbet, and Matthews; and perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at laſt to ſecure themſelves by flying into Worceſter.

§. 18. Preſently after, the king calling a council of war, it was reſolved to engage Cromwell himſelf. Accordingly, they on a ſudden ſally'd out againſt him with ſo much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not ſuſtain the ſhock, but was forced to retire in ſome diſorder; and his cannon likewiſe were for ſome time in the power of the king's party. But multitudes of freſh forces coming in, at laſt turned the ſcale on Cromwell's ſide. The battle continued for three or four hours with great fierceneſs and various ſucceſs, till the Scots, being overpowered by Cromwell's ſuperior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confuſion to ſecure themſelves. The horſe made as faſt as they could back again towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being cloſely purſued by ſome of the conquerors, who furiouſly flew through all the ſtreets, doing ſuch terrible execution, that there was nothing to be ſeen for ſome time but blood and ſlaughter.

As ſoon as the lord-general had forced his way through Sudbury-gate, whilſt his party were killing and ſlaying all they met with, he with ſome regiments ran up to the Fort-royal, commanded by colonel Drummond; and being juſt about to ſtorm,

ſtorm, he firſt ventured through whole ſhowers of ſhot, to offer the Scots quarter, if they would preſently ſubmit, and deliver up the fort; which they refuſing, he ſoon reduced it by force, and without mercy put them all to the ſword, to the number of 1500 men. In the mean time very conſiderable parties were ſent after the flying enemy, and the country every where roſe upon them.

The ſlain in this battle were reckoned about 4000, and the priſoners taken in the fight, and in the purſuit, amounted to about 10,000: ſo that near all were loſt. The chief of the priſoners were duke Hamilton (brother of the late duke) who died ſoon after of his wounds; the earl of Derby, who not long after was ſentenced to death, and loſt his head at Bolton; the earls of Lauderdale, Carnwarth, Rothes, and Kelley; lord Sinclair, ſir John Packington, ſir Charles Cunningham, ſir Ralph Clare, major general Montgomery, major-general Piſcotty, Mr. Richard Fanſhaw, ſecretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; beſides ſeveral colonels, and other inferior officers. There were alſo taken all their artillery and baggage, 158 colours, the king's ſtandard, his coach and horſes, and ſeveral other things of great value. The king eſcaped, and having wandered ſome time in diſguiſe about England, he at laſt found means to embark, and landed ſafely at Diepe in France. This great victory, which was juſtly look upon as the deciſion of the grand cauſe between the king and the common wealth, was obtained by general Cromwell on the 3d of September, the ſame day twelvemonth that the Scots had ſuch a defeat given them by his forces at Dunbar, as loſt them their kingdom.

§. 19.

§. 19. Cromwell, having given this deadly blow to all the king's party, ſtaid no longer at Worceſter, than to ſee the walls of it levelled with the ground, and the dikes filled with earth; thereby to curb the diſaffection of the inhabitants. This done, he marched up in a triumphant manner to London, driving 4 or 5000 priſoners before him. Beyond Ayleſbury, he was met by four commiſſioners from the parliament, whom they ſent to pay him all the marks of honour and eſteem. When he came to Acton, he was ſolemnly met by the ſpeaker, and the reſt of the members and the council of ſtate; and ſoon after by the lord-mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs, and many perſons of quality, with the militia, and multitudes of people; who welcomed him with loud ſhouts and acclamations, and ſeveral vollies of great and ſmall ſhot. Whitelock ſays, he carried himſelf with great affability, and ſeeming humility; and in all his diſcourſes about the buſineſs of Worceſter, would ſeldom mention any thing of himſelf, but the gallantry of the officers and ſoldiers, and gave all the glory of the action unto God.

After ſome ſmall repoſe, on the 16th of September he took his place in parliament, where the ſpeaker made a ſpeech to him, congratulating his return after ſo many atchievements, and giving him the thanks of the houſe for his ſervices to the commonwealth. On the ſame day, he, with his chief officers, was feaſted in the city, with all poſſible ſtate and pomp: and ſoon after two acts were drawn up, that were much to his honour; one for a ſolemn thankſgiving day, and the other for a yearly obſervation of the 3d of September, in all the three kingdoms. The parliament likewiſe ſettled 4000l. a year upon him, out of the eſtates of the duke of Buckingham and the marquis of Worceſter,

Worceſter, beſides 2,500 l. per Annum formerly granted.

§. 20. Soon after the battle of Worceſter, the iſle of Man, bravely defended by the heroick counteſs of Derby, and the iſle of Jerſey, that had been long maintained by ſir George Carteret, were both reduced to the parliament's obedience. They had long ſince been maſters of Guernſey, except the chief fort, called Cornet-caſtle, which had been a great while defended by Roger Burges, but was about the latter end of October ſurrendered by him upon very good articles. And the Scilly iſles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were ſome time before reduced by a part of the parliament's fleet.

Major-general Monk, whom the lord general had left in Scotland, to perfect the reduction of that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very good ſucceſs. Before the fight of Worceſter, he took Sterling, the chief ſtrength of the Scots; as alſo Dundee, with as terrible an execution as Cromwell had before uſed at Tredagh; and ſurpriſed a convention of the Scotch nobility; among whom was old general Leſley, and ſent them priſoners to London. The example that was made of Dundee, occaſioned ſuch a terror, that St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Dunbarton, and Dunnoter caſtles, with other towns, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds, either voluntarily declared for the conquerors, or ſurrendered upon ſummons. Notwithſtanding this, the Scots made one attempt more, under Middleton, Huntley, Glencarne, and others in the Highlands; but they were ſoon ſuppreſſed and diſperſed by colonel Morgan: ſo that the Engliſh extended their conqueſts through all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the iſles of Orkney and Shetland,

Shetland, which now ſubmitted to them. After this, there was no more work for our general in the field; who therefore continued about London moſt of the remainder of his days.

§. 21. Thus have we gnoe thro' Cromwell's military life, and with as much brevity as poſſible, except in two or three of the principal actions, which I have taken more at large from the hiſtorians of the time. His next conqueſt was over the parliament who employ'd him, by another ſort of warfare, in which he was no leſs expert and ſucceſsful than in the open field. But that will be the ſubject of another chapter.

CHAP. V.

A view of Cromwell's *conduct towards king* Charles I.

§. 1. IT cannot be denied that Cromwell, in a multitude of inſtances, appears to have been a great maſter of diſſimulation: and if the old maxim be true, "that he who knows not how to diſſemble, knows not how to reign," we ſhall find it was neceſſary for him to be ſo. This puts us under a difficulty, however, with regard to many of his actions, to find what were his real motives and views. But if we may judge from a ſeries of the moſt probable circumſtances, we have no reaſon to think that he had at firſt, or even for a long time after he arriv'd at great power, any ſettled deſign againſt the king's life. It was owing to him indeed, that the king was ſeized at Holmby-houſe, contrary to the ſenſe, and without the knowledge of the parliament: but this was done with no other view than to get his majeſty into the hands of the army, who were jealous of the parliament, as the parliament were of them.

For when the royal power was quite broken, and the royal perſon made a priſoner, miſunderſtandings began to ariſe among the victors, from the ſoldiers arrogating more to themſelves than their maſters were willing to allow. On this account it was imagined, that they who could ſecure

cure the king's perſon, might play him off againſt the other party, and reſtore him upon their own terms, without any proviſion for the others. It was even ſuſpected at this time, that the parliament had actually a deſign of reſtoring the king's authority, in order to make uſe of it to ruin their own army. But the chief officers were more tenacious of the power they had acquired, and in particular Cromwell, who was a member of parliament as well as a general, than thus to reſign it without any ſecurity to themſelves. It was thought neceſſary, therefore, in order to leſſen the parliament's authority, and increaſe their own, to take this otherwiſe unwarrantable ſtep; of which Cromwell was the chief adviſer, as appears from the teſtimony of Joyce, who acted in the affair, and is thus related.

The animoſities between the parliament and army ſtill continuing and increaſing, the agitators feared the parliament would now, for their own ſecurity, receive the king upon any terms, or rather put themſelves under his protection, that they might the better ſubdue the army, and reduce them to obedience. Wherefore, being inſtigated thereto by Cromwell, they, on the 4th of June, ſent cornet Joyce, one of their body, with a party of horſe, to take him out of the hands of the parliament-commiſſioners, and bring him away to the army. Accordingly, Joyce about midnight drew up his horſe in order before Holmby-houſe, demanding entrance. Colonel Greaves, and major-general Brown, who being alarm'd, had doubled the guards, enquiring his name and buſineſs, he ſaid his name was Joyce, a cornet in col. Whalley's regiment, and his buſineſs was to ſpeak with the king. Being ask'd from whom, he ſaid, "From myſelf; my errand is to the king, I muſt and I will ſpeak with him." Greaves and Brown

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commanded their men within to ſtand to their arms; but they, ſeeing them to be their fellow-ſoldiers of the ſame army, open'd the gates, and ſhook hands with them as old friends. The cornet plac'd his centinels at the commiſſioners chamber-doors, and went himſelf by the back ſtairs directly to the king's bed-chamber. The grooms being much ſurpriz'd, deſir'd him to lay aſide his arms, and aſſur'd him, that in the morning he ſhould ſpeak with the king: but he, with ſword and piſtol, inſiſted to have the door opened, and made ſo much noiſe, that it waked his majeſty, who ſent him out word, "that he would not riſe nor ſpeak with him till the morning:" upon which the cornet retir'd in a huff. The king getting up early in the morning, ſent for him, who with great boldneſs told his majeſty, he was commanded to remove him. Whereupon the king deſired the commiſſioners might be called; but Joyce ſaid, "they had nothing to do but to return back to the parliament." Being asked for a ſight of his inſtructions, he told his majeſty, "he ſhould ſee them preſently;" ſo drawing up his troop in the inner court, "Theſe, ſir, ſaid he, are my inſtructions." The king having took a good view of them, and finding them to be proper men, well mounted and arm'd, told the cornet with a ſmile, "his inſtructions were in fair characters, legible without ſpelling." Joyce then preſſing the king to go along with him, his majeſty refuſed, unleſs the commiſſioners might attend him; to which the cornet replied, "he was very indifferent, they might go if they would." So the king, being attended by the commiſſioners of the parliament, went along with Joyce, and was that night conducted by him to colonel Montague's houſe at Hinchinbrook, and the next night to ſir John Cuts's, at Childerſley near Cambridge. Here Fairfax,

fax, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, and many other officers came to wait upon the king, and ſome of them kiſſed his hand. 'Tis ſaid that Joyce being told that the general was diſpleaſed with him for taking the king from Holmby, he anſwered, "that lieutenant general Cromwell had given him orders at London to do all that he had done;" and indeed Fairfax now reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell's judgment, who led and governed him as he pleaſed. And though he was at firſt diſſatisfied with this proceeding of Joyce, yet Cromwell ſoon appeaſed him, by repreſenting to him, "that nothing could have been done of greater advantage to the army and their generals, to the church and ſtate, than what Joyce had been doing: that the king was on the point of making an accommodation with the parliament, who had determined to ſend colonel Greaves to fetch him; and if Joyce had not fetch'd him, there would have been an end of both officers and army, and all the pains they had taken for the publick good would not only have been uſeleſs, but criminal."

§. 2. Cromwell's grand deſign, we are aſſured, was to hinder any conjunction between the king and the preſbyterians, the army's greateſt enemies; and having now got him into his hands, he ſpirited up an addreſs from the army, containing a charge of high treaſon againſt eleven members of the houſe of commons, who were the heads of the preſbyterian party. This had the deſir'd effect; for knowing this charge was rather to hinder their influencing the houſe, than with a view of proceeding capitally againſt them, they determin'd to withdraw themſelves voluntarily, and leave the ſway of the houſe in the hands of the oppoſite party; who, tho' called independents, were made up of men of different perſuaſions, that were in

general friends to the army. There was alſo a moderate party in the houſe, who uſually voted on the ſide of liberty, till they found what lengths they were like to be led.

Having proceeded thus far, Cromwell's next intentions were to reſtore the king by means of the independents, now the predominant party; thinking that liberty of conſcience would thereby be better ſecured, than it could be under a preſbyterian hierarchy. And the king himſelf began to think his conditon altered for the better, and to look upon the independent intereſt as more conſiſtent with epiſcopacy than the preſbyterian, becauſe it might ſubſiſt under any form, which the other could not do. He was alſo much more civilly treated ſince his being in the army, than he was before while the parliament's priſoner; for tho' he was obliged to attend the motion of the camp, he was every where allow'd to appear in ſtate and luſtre, with his nobility about him, his chaplains in waiting, and all his ſervants in their proper places. His majeſty received alſo an addreſs from the army, full of proteſtations of duty: which was ſet on foot by Cromwell and Ireton; tho' to prevent the parliament's jealouſy of them, they were at firſt ſomewhat reſerved in their own behaviour; and even deſired to be excuſed from ſeeing his majeſty often, and waved the ceremony of kiſſing his hand when before him, notwithſtanding all the addreſs which his majeſty made uſe of, as to perſons he knew could do him ſervice.

After ſome time, however, Cromwell's behaviour was more open and free; he viſited the king frequently, and had long conferences with him. Once in particular he is ſaid to have promis'd his majeſty, that if he and his party would ſit ſtill, and neither act nor declare againſt the army, he would

would reſtore him, and make him the greateſt prince in Chriſtendom. Tho' in private, among his friends, he boaſted, "that now he had got the king into his hands, he had got the parliament in his pocket." His majeſty knew that Cromwell bore the greateſt ſway in the army, and finding him not averſe to his intereſt, was ſo indiſcreet as to ſay to general Fairfax, upon his offering him his ſervice, "Sir, I have as good intereſt in the army as you." Which expreſſion was taken very ill by the general, and did the king no ſervice.

§. 3. But notwithſtanding the king's indiſcretion, Cromwell was certainly in earneſt as to his deſign of a reſtoration, tho' he durſt not openly avow it. This was evident from his meſſage to ſir John Berkeley, who was ſent over by the queen and the prince to promote an agreement between the king and the army. Sir Allen Appeſley, the meſſenger, was ordered to inform ſir John, that "Cromwell well remembered what he had once heard him ſay, concerning the difficulty of introducing a popular government, againſt the king, the nobility and gentry, the preſbyterians, and the genius of the nation; and that therefore it would be well for the independents to do what the preſbyterians had only pretended to, and reſtore the king and people to their juſt and antient rights; this being the only way to obtain truſt and power for themſelves, as much as ſubjects are capable of: whereas, if they aimed at more, it would be attended with a great hatred, and their own deſtruction. That tho' Cromwell, when ſir John held this diſcourſe, only gave him the hearing, yet he had ſince found by experience, that all, or the greateſt part of it, was reaſonable, and he was reſolved to act accordingly, as might

be perceived by what had already paſſed; deſiring that the queen and the prince would not condemn his party, but ſuſpend their opinion of them, and their intentions, till their future carriage ſhould make full proof of their integrity, of which they had already given ſome teſtimony."

And when, after leave obtained from Cromwell, ſir John came to wait on the king, Cromwell confirmed with his own mouth all that ſir Allen had reported; with this addition, "that he thought no man could enjoy his life and eſtate quietly, unleſs the king had his right; which, ſays he, we have already declared to the world in general terms, and will more particularly very ſoon, when we ſhall comprize the ſeveral intereſts of the royaliſts, preſbyterians, and independents, as far as they are conſiſtent with one another." And ſome time after ſir John meeting him at Reading, as he was coming from the king at Caverſham, Cromwell told him, "that he had lately ſeen the tendereſt ſight that ever his eyes beheld; which was the interview between the king and his children." He even wept while he mentioned it, and added, "that never was man ſo abuſed as himſelf in the ſiniſter opinion he had of the king, whom he now thought the moſt upright and conſcientious man of the three kingdoms:" concluding with this wiſh, "that God would be pleaſed to look upon him according to the ſincerity of his heart towards the king."

§. 4. Indeed the army in general, as well as Cromwell, appeared at this time very zealous for the king's intereſt; and yet they ſeemed to ſuſpect the reality of one another's intentions. Some of the principal agitators whiſpered their ſuſpicions

cions of the lieutenant-general to Berkeley, but they appeared to be ſuſpicious only; every one confeſſing, that if Cromwell and Ireton were not hearty for the king, they were compleat diſſemblers. And what room could there be to imagine this, when propoſals were actually drawn up by Ireton for a reconciliation, by which epiſcopacy was not to be aboliſhed, nor the militia taken from the crown; when they both preſſed the king to conſent to them without delay, there being no aſſurance of the army, who had chang'd more than once. Cromwell, in particular, was ſo earneſt in the affair, that he blamed Ireton's ſlowneſs in perfecting the propoſals, and his backwardneſs in coming up to his majeſty's ſenſe; telling ſir John Berkeley on the other hand, "that he wiſhed he would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up to narrow principles; becauſe there was great room to think that the army would not perſiſt in their good intentions towards the king."

About the ſame time arrived mr. Aſhburnham, upon the like meſſage as ſir John Berkeley. This gentleman ſoon got acquainted with colonel Whalley, who commanded the guard that attended the king; and alſo with Cromwell and Ireton, who ſeemed greatly to come into his meaſures, ſo as even to raiſe a jealouſy in the army of their carrying on a ſeparate treaty. But all theſe promiſing circumſtances were ſoon defeated, merely by the imprudence of his majeſty, and thoſe about him; as we ſhall ſee by what follows.

§. 5. The parliament feared nothing ſo much as a conjunction between the king and the army: and now there was ſuch an appearance of it, that many of the king's friends, thro' an in-

temperate zeal, made it the ſubject of their triumph. Hereupon the two houſes ſent a committee to his majeſty, with an addreſs of another ſtrain than they had lately uſed, making many proteſtations of duty, and declaring, " that if he was not in all reſpects treated as he ought to be, and as he deſired, it was not their fault, who were deſirous he might be at full liberty, and do what he would." The army, at the ſame time, was not without jealouſy that the king hearkened to ſome ſecret propoſitions from the preſbyterian party, and deſigned to make an abſolute breach between the parliament and the army; which occaſioned Ireton to ſay to him, " Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be ſo between you and the parliament." In the mean time the king, finding himſelf courted on all hands, was ſo confident of his own importance, that he imagined himſelf able to turn the ſcale on which ſide he pleaſed.

This high conſideration of himſelf, which was one of king Charles's greateſt foibles, was the occaſion that when the propoſals were brought to him from the army, and his concurrence to them humbly deſired, he entertained their commiſſioners with haughty and diſobliging language; declaring, " that no man ſhould ſuffer for his ſake; (there being juſtice required on ſome of his evil adviſers) and that he repented of nothing ſo much, as that he paſſed the bill againſt the earl of Strafford: alſo, that he would have the church of England eſtabliſh'd by the propoſals;" there being nothing in them concerning church government. Theſe propoſals however were much more moderate than thoſe ſent to him from the parliament: but he unhappily thought that they proceeded only from the

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neceſſity they had of him; and in diſcourſing with the commiſſioners, would frequently uſe ſuch expreſſions as theſe: "You cannot do without me; you will fall to ruin unleſs I ſuſtain you." This kind of proceeding greatly aſtoniſhed his own party, as well as the deputies from the army; whereupon he began to ſoften his diſcourſe, but it was too late; for colonel Rainſborough, who ſeemed leaſt of all to deſire an accommodation, had retired from the conference, and going immediately to the army, had given them to underſtand what treatment their commiſſioners and propoſals had met with.

It may not be amiſs, on this occaſion, to introduce part of dr. Wellwood's character of this unhappy prince, in which he ſeems to have had ſome view to the preſent affair. After telling us, "that if king Charles had any perſonal faults, they were much overweighed by his virtues; but that an immoderate deſire of power, beyond what our conſtitution allow'd of, was the rock he ſplit upon." The doctor adds, "there was another error that run thro' the whole management of his affairs, both domeſtick and publick, and which occaſioned a great part of his misfortunes: he appeared many times ſtiff and poſitive, in denying at firſt what he granted afterwards out of time, and too late to give ſatisfaction; which encouraged intereſted perſons to aſk more than they thought of at firſt, and loſt him the fruits of his former conceſſions: ſo that in the whole conduct of his life he verified this maxim, that errors in government have ruined more princes than their perſonal vices."

§. 6. To proceed with our hiſtory: There happened, about the time we are now upon, an inſurrection in the city of London, occaſioned by the

the parliament's voting the city militia, through Cromwell's influence, into other hands than their own. The mob that was got down to Weſtminſter, on this occaſion, not only obliged both houſes to revoke their ordinance, but forced them to paſs a vote, "that the king ſhould come forthwith to London, and be invited thither with honour, freedom, and ſafety." This violence put upon them, occaſioned ſeveral of the members, and in particular the ſpeakers of both houſes, to repair with ſpeed to the army, and offer up their complaints. The army could not have deſired a greater advantage than this gave them, who therefore received the members with all the appearances of reſpect, profeſſed their ſubmiſſion to the parliament, and declared, "that they would re-eſtabliſh them in their full power, or periſh in the attempt." Nor did they fail of their promiſe; for tho' the houſes had choſen new ſpeakers, and paſſed ſeveral votes according to the mind of the citizens, yet all thoſe proceedings were diſannull'd upon the army's coming to London; the members were reſtored, and every thing ſettled again as the officers, or rather as Cromwell, who governed all the reſt, would have it.

§. 7. But the city being ſubdued, and the parliament and army ſeemingly united, there aroſe differences in the army itſelf The agitators, whoſe riſe we ſhall mention elſewhere, were no longer inclined to an agreement with the king, and declared their diſcontent at the intimacy kept up by Cromwell and Ireton with his majeſty's agents. The doors of theſe commanders, they ſaid, were open to the royaliſts, and ſhut to their own ſoldiers. Cromwell was very uneaſy at theſe diſcourſes, and informed the king's party

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of them, ſpeaking thus to Aſhburnham and Berkley: "If I am an honeſt man, I have ſaid enough of the ſincerity of my intentions; and if I am not, nothing is enough: therefore I conjure you, as you tender the king's ſervice, not to come ſo frequently to my quarters, but to ſend your buſineſs in private; the ſuſpicion of me being grown ſo great, that I am afraid to be in them myſelf." Thus the agitators, who were ſet up at firſt by Cromwell, to oppoſe the parliament's deſign of diſbanding, began now to be very troubleſome to him, and at laſt obliged him to abandon the king's intereſt, in order to make his peace with them.

For the parliament having addreſs'd themſelves again to the king, Cromwell found means to prevent his treating with them, and got it inſinuated, "that if the king would aſſent to their propoſals, lower than thoſe of the parliament, the army would ſettle him again on his throne." His majeſty, upon this, inſtead of liſtening to the parliament, deſired a perſonal treaty on the propoſals of the army. With this the officers were well pleaſed; and Cromwell and Ireton, with others of their party, preſſed his majeſty's deſires in the houſe with great earneſtneſs. But ſo far were they from ſucceeding, that they met with a vigorous oppoſition, and loſt moſt of their friends in the parliament, where they were now look'd upon as betrayers of the cauſe. The army likewiſe, which then lay about Putney, were no leſs diſſatisfied with their proceedings; ſo that the agitators complained openly in council, both of the king and the malignants, about declaring, "that ſince the king had rejected their propoſals, they were no farther engaged to him, but were now to conſult their own ſafety, and the publick good: and having the power devolved upon them by deciſion

deciſion of the ſword, and being convinced that monarchy was inconſiſtent with the good of the nation, they reſolved to uſe their endeavours to reduce England to a commonwealth." They alſo deſigned to have ſeized Aſhburnham and Berkley, the king's agents, and to wreſt the king out of the hands of the two traitors, as they called Cromwell and Ireton.

§. 8. Cromwell was ſo terrify'd with theſe things, that he thought it neceſſary to bring the army to a general rendezvous; knowing that moſt of the great officers were ſtill well affected to the king, and diſliked theſe proceedings of the agitators, whoſe power he hoped by that means to ſuppreſs. The agitators, in the mean time, endeavoured to prevent the rendezvous, and to get the king into their own hands But Cromwell was to hard for them all: for finding how matters were like to go, he acquainted the king with his danger, and aſſuring him of his real ſervice, adviſed him to eſcape where he might be more ſecure. His majeſty took the general's counſel, and leaving Hampton-court, where he then reſided, made away for the iſle of Wight, accompanied by Berkeley, Aſhburnham, and ſome others. They were well received by colonel Hammond, the governor, who met the king at Titchfield, and conducted him forwards in his own perſon. Cromwell ſoon received letters of the king's arrival, which he communicated to the parliament, and thereby removed the conſternation they were before in on account of his eſcape. And lord Clarendon remarks, that he made the relation of this matter with ſo unuſual a gaiety, that all men concluded, his majeſty was where Cromwell deſired he ſhould be.

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The agitators now declared openly againſt the king, and againſt the continuance of the preſent parliament; requiring that a new one might be elected, by a more equal diſtribution of the counties, cities, and boroughs. A great part of the army came over to them, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of levellers: and at the general rendezvous, they that were of this party wore every one a paper in his hat, with theſe words written upon it, "the rights of England, and the conſent of the people." And tho' Cromwell, by his ſingular addreſs and extraordinary courage, did for the preſent quell this ſpirit in the army; yet ſo apprehenſive was he of the ſecret remains of it, and the conſequences that might hence enſue, and ſo weary was he of treating with the king to no purpoſe, that he ſoon altered his conduct to both parties, and reconciled himſelf to the one, by abandoning the other.

§. 9. To vindicate Cromwell, as much as poſſible, in the affair of leaving the king, I ſhall infert the ſubſtance of what is collected on this head, by the anonymous author of Cromwell's life. He tells us from Ludlow, that colonel Hammond and mr. Aſhburnham had frequent conferences with the king, who made ſuch promiſes to Hammond, that he expreſs'd his earneſt deſire that the army might reſume their power, and rid themſelves of the agitators, whoſe authority, he ſaid, he never liked. To this end he ſent one mr. Traughton, his chaplain, to the army, to adviſe them to make uſe of the late ſucceſs againſt the agitators; and ſoon after he preſs'd the king to ſend ſome of thoſe who attended on him, to the army, with letters of compliment to Fairfax, and others of greater confidence to Cromwell and Ireton. He alſo wrote to them himſelf, "conjuring them by their

their engagements, their honour and conſcience, to come to a ſpeedy agreement with the king, and not to expoſe themſelves to the fantaſtick giddineſs of the agitators." Sir John Berkley was appointed by the king, in purſuance of Hammond's advice, to go to the army; who taking with him mr. Henry Berkley his couſin, went over with a paſs from the governor of Cowes. Being on his way towards the army, he met mr. Traughton on his return between Bagſhot and Windſor, who inform'd him, that he had no good news to carry back to his majeſty, the army having enter'd into new reſolutions concerning his perſon. He was not gone much farther, before he was met by cornet Joyce, who told him, "that he was aſtoniſhed at his deſign of going to the army, for it had been debated amongſt the agitators, whether, in juſtification of themſelves, the king ſhould be brought to a trial;" of which opinion he declared himſelf to be. Sir John, however, reſolved to go to the army, and being arrived at Windſor, went to general Fairfax's quarters, where the officers were aſſembled. Being admitted, he delivered his letters to the general, who receiving them, ordered him to withdraw. Having waited about half an hour, he was called in, when the general, with ſome ſeverity in his looks, told him, that they were the parliament's army, and therefore could ſay nothing to the king's motion about peace, but muſt refer thoſe matters, and the king's letters, to their conſideration. Sir John then looked upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the reſt of his acquaintance: but they ſaluted him very coldly, and ſhewing him colonel Hammond's letter to them, ſmiled with diſdain upon it.

Finding himſelf thus diſappointed, Berkley went to his lodging; where having ſtaid two hours

hours without any company, he at laſt ordered his ſervant to go out, and ſee if he could find any of his acquaintance. The ſervant going out, met with one who was a general officer, who bid him tell his maſter, that he would meet him at ſuch a place at midnight. They being accordingly met, the officer acquainted Berkley in general, that he had no good news to tell him, and then proceeding to particulars, ſaid, "You know, that I and my friends engaged ourſelves to you, that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the reſt were not ſo, we were abus'd: that ſince the tumults in the army, we did miſtruſt Cromwell and Ireton; whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we miſtruſt neither, and that we are reſolved, notwithſtanding our engagement, to deſtroy the king and his poſterity; to which purpoſe Ireton has made two propoſitions this afternoon; one, that you ſhould be ſent priſoner to London; the other, that none ſhould ſpeak with you upon pain of death; and I do now hazard my life by doing it. The way deſigned to ruin his majeſty, is to ſend 800 of the moſt diſaffected in the army to ſecure his perſon, and then to bring him to a trial; and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days; and therefore, if the king can eſcape, let him do it as he loves his life."

Sir John being exceedingly troubled at this relation, aſk'd his friend the reaſon of this change, ſeeing the king had done all things in compliance with the army, and the officers were become ſuperior ſince the laſt rendezvous. Whereupon he gave him this account: "That tho' one of the mutineers was ſhot to death, eleven more impriſon'd, and the reſt in appearance over-awed; yet they were ſo far from being ſo in reality, that two thirds of the army had been ſince with Cromwell

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and Ireton, to let them know, that though they were ſure to periſh in the enterprize, they ſhould leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole army to their ſenſe; and if all failed, they would make a diviſion in the army, and unite with any who would aſſiſt them in the deſtruction of their oppoſers. That Cromwell and Ireton reaſoned thus with themſelves, "If the army divide, the greateſt part will join with the preſbyterians, and will moſt probably prevail to our ruin; or we ſhall be obliged in ſuch a manner to apply ourſelves to the king, as rather to beg than offer any aſſiſtance; which if the king ſhall give, and be ſo fortunate as to prevail, if he ſhall then pardon us, it will be all we can expect, and more than we can aſſure ourſelves of:" and thereupon concluded, that if they could not bring the army to their ſenſe, it was beſt to comply with them, a diviſion being utterly deſtructive to both.

In purſuance therefore of this reſolution, Cromwell employed all his thoughts and endeavours to make his peace with the party that was moſt ſet againſt the king. He alſo ſent comfortable meſſages to the priſoners he had ſeiz'd at the late rendezvous, aſſuring them, that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice; and by theſe and the like arts, he perfected his reconciliation with the levelling party.

Sir John Berkeley returning to his lodging, diſpatch'd his couſin to the iſle of White with two letters; one to colonel Hammond, giving a general account, and doubtful judgment of affairs in the army; another in cypher, with a particular relation of the conference he had with the forementioned officer, and a ſupplication to his majeſty, to thing of nothing but his immediate eſcape. The next morning he ſent colonel Cook to Cromwell, to acquaint him that he had letters

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and inſtructions to him from the king: but Cromwell returned him anſwer by the meſſenger, "that he durſt not ſee him, it being very dangerous to them both;" aſſuring him, "that he would ſerve the king as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but deſired, that it might not be expected that he ſhould periſh for his ſake."

Thus we have ſeen the motives that prevailed on this famous general to abandon the king's intereſt. And much the ſame account is given by Salmonet, who will not at all be ſuſpected of being partial to Cromwell: ſo that if he hitherto acted ſincerely in his deſign to ſerve the king, as is moſt probable, they who charge him with having contrived his ruin from the beginning of the civil wars, aſcribe to him more ambitious views than he really had. He was indeed ambitious enough, and as good as any man at the art of diſſimulation: but certainly nothing hinders, but a great diſſember may ſometimes be in earneſt; and his ambition might be gratify'd by the private treaty, that was ſuppoſed to be carried on between him and the king, by ſtipulating ſuch honours and advancements for himſelf and family, as reſtoring the king to his throne might reaſonably lay claim to.

§. 10. And here we cannot omit another account, that is given by ſome, of Cromwell's falling off from the king, and deſerting his intereſt. They tell us, there was a report, that Cromwell made a private article with the king, that if his majeſty cloſed with the army's propoſals, he ſhould be made earl of Eſſex, knight of the garter, and firſt captain of the horſe-guards; and Ireton was to be made lieutenant of Ireland. Other honours and employments were likewiſe ſtipulated

pulated for Cromwell's family and friends. But the king was ſo uxorious, that he would do nothing without the advice of his queen, who not liking the propoſal, he ſent a letter to acquaint her, " that tho' he aſſented to the army's propoſals, yet if by ſo doing he could procure peace, it would be eaſier then to take off Cromwell, than now he was the head that governed the army." Cromwell, who had his ſpies upon every motion of the king, intercepted this letter, and thereupon reſolved never to truſt the king more. This is ſaid to have happened before the king left Hampton-court: for upon this, they tell us, Cromwell fearing he could not manage his deſigns, if the king were ſo near the parliament as Hampton-court, gave him private information, that he was in no ſafety there, by reaſon of the hatred which the agitators bore him; and that he would be more ſecure in the iſle of Wight. Hereupon the king, whilſt the parliament and the Scotch commiſſioners were debating on his anſwer to their propoſitions, made his eſcape as before related.

§. 11. Agreeable enough to this account is the relation given by the author of the memoirs of the lord Broghill, of a converſation that paſſed between the ſaid lord and Cromwell, whilſt he was in Ireland, in 1650. He informs us, that the lord Broghill being in diſcourſe with Cromwell and Ireton, fell upon the ſubject of the king's death. Cromwell ſaid, that if the king had followed his own mind, and had had truſty ſervants about him, he had fooled them all: adding, " we had once an inclination to have come to terms with him, but ſomething that happened drew us off from it." The lord Broghill ſeeing they were both in a good humour, aſked them, why,

why, if they were inclined to close with him they had not done it? Upon which Cromwell frankly told him, "The reason of our inclination to come to terms with him, was, we found the Scots and presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were strenuously endeavouring to strike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reasonable conditions. But while we were busied with these thoughts, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that day: what it was he could not tell, but a letter was going to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle, upon his head, about ten o'clock the following night, to the Blue-boar-inn in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, but some one in Dover did. We were then at Windsor; and immediately upon the receipt of the letter from our spy, Ireton and I resolved to take a trusty fellow with us, and in troopers habits to go to the inn; which accordingly we did, and set our men at the gate of the inn to watch. The gate was shut, but the wicket was open, and our men staid to give us notice when any one came with a saddle upon his head. Ireton and I sat in a box near the wicket, and called for a can of beer, and then another, drinking in that disguise till ten o'clock, when our centinel gave us notice that the man with the saddle was come: upon which we immediately rose; and when the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with our swords drawn, and told him, we were to search all who went in and out there; but as he looked like an honest

honeſt fellow, we would only ſearch his ſaddle; which we did, and found the letter we looked for; and opening it, read the contents, in which the king acquainted the queen, that he was now courted by both the factions, the Scots presbyterians, and the army; that which of them bid faireſt for him ſhould have him; that he thought he could cloſe ſooner with the Scots than the other. Upon which we ſpeeded to Windſor, and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately reſolved to ruin him."

For a concluſion, I ſhall ſet down what dr. Welwood in his memoirs, obſerves concerning this matter. "As every thing, ſays he, did contribute to the fall of king Charles I. ſo did every thing contribute to the riſe of Cromwell, and as there was no deſign at firſt againſt the king's life, ſo it is probable that Cromwell had no thoughts, for a long time, of every arriving at what he afterwards was. It is known, he was once in treaty with the king, after the army had carried his majeſty away from Holmby-houſe, to have reſtored him to the throne; which probably he would have done, if the ſecret had not been like to take vent, by the indiſcretion of ſome about the king; which puſhed Cromwell on to prevent his own, by the ruin of the king."

§. 12. However, it was (for theſe things muſt ſtill remain under ſome confuſion) it is certain, that a few days after the king's departure from Hampton-court, and after it was known he was in the iſle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windſor, where Cromwell and Ireton were preſent, to conſider what ſhould now be done with the king: and it was reſolved, that he ſhould be proſecuted for his life as a criminal

minal perſon. This reſolution, however, was a great ſecret, whereof the parliament had not the leaſt notice or ſuſpicion; but was, as it had been, led on by degrees to what it never deſigned.

It is very well known that after this time, Cromwell was no more a friend to the king. For when his majeſty refuſed to ſign the four famous bills that were ſent him by the parliament, as preliminary to a treaty, there was no body in the houſe that turn'd this refuſal more to his diſadvantage than Cromwell; who declared, "that the king was a man of great underſtanding; but withal ſo great a diſſembler, and ſo falſe a man, that he was not to be truſted." And to confirm what he ſaid, he rehearſed ſeveral particulars of the king's behaviour whilſt he was in the army: concluding, "that they might trouble themſelves no farther with ſending propoſitions to the king, but enter into thoſe counſels that were neceſſary towards the ſettlement of the kingdom." Which motion being ſeconded by thoſe of his party, produced that memorable vote, "that no more addreſſes or applications ſhould be made to the king, nor any meſſage received from him, under the penalty of high treaſon." And ſome writers go ſo far as to aſſert that Cromwell and Ireton were ſo bold in this debate, as to threaten not only the king, but even the parliament, if they gave the army any farther grounds of jealouſy: and that Cromwell, at the end of his ſpeech, clapped his hand upon his ſword.

§. 13. But the ſecond civil war breaking out ſoon after, Cromwell and the army were obliged to remove from London, and the preſbyterians began again to prevail in the houſe. The vote of no addreſſes was repealed, and a perſonal treaty was reſolved on with the king. Cromwell wrote

to

to his friends about theſe proceedings, but to no purpoſe; which made him uſe all expedition to finiſh his buſineſs in the north, that he might return to the parliament, and reſtrain the preſbyterian party. But while the treaty was on foot, the main army under Fairfax preſented their large remonſtrance to the parliament, adviſing them to reſume the affair of no addreſſes, and to fix a time for their own diſſolution, that a new repreſentative might be choſen. They deſired "that the parliament would lay aſide all further proceedings in this treaty, and return to their votes of no addreſſes: that the king might come no more to government, but be brought to juſtice, as the capital cauſe of all the evils in the kingdom: that a day might be ſet for the prince and the duke of York to appear, and anſwer to ſuch things as might be laid to their charge; and if they failed herein, they might be declared traitors; that an end might be put to this parliament, and new repreſentatives of the people choſen, for the governing and preſerving the whole body of the nation; that no king might be hereafter admitted, but upon election of, and in truſt for the people, &c." In concluſion, they preſs theſe things "as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill becauſe from an army, and ſo ſervants, when their maſters are ſervants, and truſtees for the kingdom."

This put the houſe into great confuſion, eſpecially as the king, about the ſame time, was removed from colonel Hammond, and committed to colonel Ewer at Hurſt-caſtle. They voted that this action was without their conſent, and ſhould be enquired into; and ſome reſolute members moved, "that the army, which was now at Windſor, might be declared traitors, if they preſumed

ſumed to march nearer London than they were at preſent; and that an impeachment of high treaſon might be drawn up againſt the principal officers of it." Hereupon the general marched directly to London, and quartered at Whitehall, placing the other chief men in the great houſes thereabouts, in order to terrify the parliament.

But the commons, notwithſtanding this, carried it by a majority upon the queſtion, "that his majeſty's conceſſions were a ſufficient ground to proceed upon, for the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom;" and appointed a committee to treat with the general. Fairfax, however, inſtead of holding a conference, ordered ſome regiments down to Weſtminſter, who ſet guards upon all the avenues to the parliament houſe, ſeized one and forty of the members as they were entering, and denied entrance to a hundred more; whereupon the reſt of the preſbyterians declining to come, the houſe was left in poſſeſſion of about an hundred and fifty. And the night after this interruption Cromwell arrived in town, and the next day took his place in parliament.

It is generally ſuppoſed that Cromwell, tho' abſent, influenc'd the late proceedings, and that it was by his advice and direction that the remonſtrance of the army was drawn up, and preſented to the houſe. 'Tis certain that both he and Ireton could manage the general in whatever they pleaſed. However, Cromwell upon his arrival declared, that "he had not been acquainted with the deſign of purging the houſe; but that ſince it was done, he was very glad of it, and would maintain it."

§. 14. The remnant of the houſe immediately renewed their votes of non-addreſſes, and annull'd all thoſe that introduc'd and ſucceeded the treaty;

and particularly reſolv'd, that the king's anſwer to their propoſitions was not ſatisfactory. Soon after which a motion was made to proceed capitally againſt the king; when Cromwell ſtood up and declared, "that if any man mov'd this upon deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt traitor in the world; but ſince providence and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he would pray to God to bleſs their counſels, though he was not prepar'd to give them advice."

I ſhall paſs over all the affair of the king's trial, as a matter commonly known; but muſt not omit what biſhop Burnet relates, that commiſſioners were ſent from Scotland, to proteſt againſt putting the king to death. They laid indeed a great load upon the king; but by a clauſe in the covenant, to which they had ſworn, by the terms upon which Scotland had engaged in the war, and by the ſolemn declarations that they had ſo often publiſhed to the world, they were obliged, they ſaid, to be faithful in the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon. Cromwell undertook to anſwer them, by ſhewing, "that a breach of truſt in a king ought to be puniſhed more than any other crime whatever: that they had ſworn to the preſervation of the king's perſon, only in defence of the true religion; but that when the true religion was obſtructed by the king, their oath was no farther obligatory: that the covenaat did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cauſe, to condign puniſhment; and that thoſe to whom publick juſtice had been done, as in the matter of Montroſe, were in compariſon but ſmall offenders; they acted by commiſſion from the king, who was therefore the principal, and ſo the moſt guilty." Thus Cromwell had manifeſtly

feſtly the better of them, upon their own principles.

Another attempt in favour of the king was made upon the lieutenant-general by his own kinſman, colonel John Cromwell, who came to town with credential letters from the ſtates of Holland, whereto was added a blank, with ſignets both of the king and prince, for Cromwell to ſet down his own conditions, if he would now ſave his life. The colonel uſed a great deal of freedom, and even reproached him warmly for turning the king's enemy, after having proteſted ſo much in his favour. But the general anſwer'd, "that it was not he, but the army, and the times were altered ſince he had engaged for the king." And at laſt, when he could no longer bear his couſin's importunity, he deſired he might have till night to conſider of it, and that the colonel would wait at his inn till then. But about one in the morning a meſſenger came to inform the colonel that he might go to bed, for the council of officers had reſolved that the king muſt die.

This reſolution was accordingly executed; and king Charles, as biſhop Burnet obſerves, "died greater than he had lived, ſhewing what has often been remarked of the family of the Stuarts, that they bore misfortunes better than proſperity. He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chaſtity, being an utter enemy to all debauchery. But his reign, both in peace and war, was a continual ſeries of errors; ſo that his judgement could hardly be good. He was out of meaſure ſet upon following his own humour, but was unreaſonably feeble to thoſe he truſted, eſpecially the queen. His notion of regal power was carried too high, and every oppoſition to it he thought rebellion."

§. 15. Thus, ſays the anonymous author before quoted, have we got over this dark ſcene, in which our lieutenant-general is commonly ſuppoſed to be chiefly concerned. But as it is not ſtrange he ſhould, if the ſtory of the king's dealing deceitfully with him be true, ſo it may more reaſonably be concluded, that his ſon-in-law Ireton, rather than he, was the perſon who chiefly influenced in thoſe proceedings. I know Ireton is ſuppoſed all along to have acted by Cromwell's directions; but whether he did or no, may, I think, in many caſes be queſtioned. Ireton was certainly a zealous commonwealth's-man, which party was always averſe to any treaty with the king; and tho' he with Cromwell was in ſuch a treaty, he never really intended to cloſe with the king, but only to lay his party aſleep, whilſt they were conteſting with the presbyterian intereſt in parliament: but he ſays no ſuch thing of Cromwell, whom he ſeems all along to be angry with, for his deſign of making an agreement with the king, being himſelf utterly averſe to it, and ſuppoſing Cromwell's main end was to gratify his own ambition, which is not unlikely; and yet he might have been in earneſt in the treaty, and alſo have deſigned the publick good. Cromwell was certainly no commonwealth's-man, tho' he was forced to humour, and in many things actually to comply with the party: and as the agitators, and their offspring the levellers, who were no other than the commonwealth's-men in the army, and whom it is likely Cromwell at firſt might make uſe of to bring about ſome of his deſigns, were the original contrivers and chief actors in the king's death; ſo whatever hand Cromwell had in it, ſeems to be chiefly owing to their fury and deſperate reſolutions, which

which made him apprehenſive of the greateſt danger, if he did not comply with their deſigns; though, at the ſame time, the contradictions that appeared in the king's conduct, might the more eaſily incline him to join purpoſes with them.

In ſhort, what with the danger that threatened his perſon, if he had perſiſted to oppoſe the deſign of the levellers; and what with the conſideration of the king's paſt miſ-government, which had been the original cauſe of all the evils the nation had ſuffered, and the fear of the like happening for the future, if he ſhould be reſtored, (he having diſcovered himſelf to be of a very inconſtant and wavering, not to ſay equivocating, temper) Cromwell was at length ſo wrought upon, as to think it neceſſary, and ſo lawful, to take off the king; in which, towards the laſt, he ſeemed to be pretty active, though always in doubt about it. We are expreſly told he at firſt ſhewed ſome repugnance to ſo black an undertaking, (as my author calls it) and ſeemed to ſhew an abhorrence of it, and not to ſurmount it, as he ſaid himſelf, but only becauſe he ſaw that the providence of God, and the neceſſity of the times, had inſpired the army to make ſo terrible a ſacrifice; but that that ſacrifice, after all, was the only one that could ſave the ſtate and religion. And I cannot here omit what biſhop Burnet ſays of this matter: he tells us that Ireton was the perſon that drove on the king's trial and death, and that Cromwell was all the while in ſome ſuſpence about it. "Ireton, ſays he, had the principles and the temper of a Caſſius in him: he ſtuck at nothing that might have turned England to a commonwealth; and he found out Cook and

Bradſhaw, two bold lawyers, as proper inſtruments for managing it." And we are informed by others, that Ireton was the perſon who wrought upon Fairfax, and managing the affair of the army's remonſtrance, and purging the parliament.

CHAP. VI.

Cromwell's *management, till he aſſumed the ſovereignty.*

§. 1. CROMWELL's firſt care, from the beginning, was to ſecure himſelf a party in the houſe of commons; which he effected by his zeal for the publick good, and his vigilance in proſecuting all the meaſures that were entered into by the parliament. Hence it was that the earls of Eſſex and Mancheſter, tho' the former was general in chief, and the other Cromwell's ſuperior, were not able to prejudice him, after he had eſtabliſhed his reputation by the victory of Marſton-moor. When the Scotch chancellor accuſed him of being an incendiary, and a publick enemy of his country, with a view to remove him out of Eſſex's way, mr. Whitelock informed that miniſter, "that he looked upon Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and ſubtle parts, and who had a great intereſt in both houſes of parliament, and that it would be needful to collect ſuch particular paſſages concerning him, as might be ſufficient to prove him an incendiary, before they could expect the parliament ſhould proceed againſt him." And though ſome gentlemen preſent, in particular mr. Hollis and ſir Philip Stapleton, attempted to mention ſuch particular paſſages, and to maintain that Cromwell had not ſuch intereſt in the parliament as was

pretended, yet the whole proceſs came to nothing, and the lieutenant-general eſcaped.

While he was thus put to it to ſecure himſelf, who would have thought that he ſhould have accuſed another, and even that very general to whom he was lieutenant? Yet this was the caſe between him and Mancheſter, whom he charged with betraying the parliament, and ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of their cauſe. And tho' the earl recriminated, and affirmed that Cromwell had once ſaid to him, "My lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you will find an army at your command, that will give law to king and parliament;" yet Cromwell had viſibly the advantage in this conteſt, and ſoon after ſucceeded Mancheſter in his poſt, who was laid aſide by his maſters.

§. 2. It is not to be thought that a man who had raiſed himſelf in the army, could be in earneſt about laying down his commiſſion, when he appeared ſo vigorous about the ſelf-denying ordinance. But Cromwell was certain of carrying his own point in the houſe, provided he could get his ſuperiors, and thoſe who were jealous of him, removed from the ſervice. He ran little riſk therefore in proffering to lay down his commiſſion, while he moved that an ordinance might be prepared, "to make it unlawful for any member of either houſe to hold any office in the army, or any place in the ſtate." And when he hinted at the people's jealouſy, that while members of the parliament were in chief command, they found too much intereſt in continuing the war, to ſuffer them to be earneſt in endeavouring to end it, he gave a thorough blow to my lord Mancheſter, whom he had before accuſed

cuſed of labouring to protract the preſent confuſion.

Cromwell pretended indeed, when the army was new modelled upon his motion, and all the old officers removed, to go among the reſt and take his leave of ſir Thomas Fairfax the new general, who was then at Windſor: but how much ſoever he might ſeem to be ſurprized, there is no room to queſtion but he knew of the committee's recommendation of him to ſir Thomas, as the moſt proper perſon for an enterprize then projected, that of interrupting the correſpondence between the king and prince Rupert. This was only a prelude to what ſoon followed, when his perſonal ſervice in the houſe was diſpenſed with, and his commiſſion continued from time to time, till he was conſtituted lieutenant general of the horſe, with the ſame full powers that Mancheſter had before enjoyed.

§. 3. But when the firſt civil war was over, Cromwell had yet a more difficult part to act. Diſſentions broke out between the parliament, which was chiefly presbyterians, and the army, which inclined to independency. Theſe differences were heightened by the citizens of London, who addreſſed the parliament againſt the independants, and complained particularly of the army, where many, they ſaid, who were neither learned or ordained, took upon them to preach and expound the ſcripture. Cromwell, for a long time, had ſeemed to favour presbytery; but having got many of his friends into power, and finding the army on his ſide, he now eſpouſed the independant party. Hereupon the parliament grew particularly jealous of him, and were for taking meaſures to diſmiſs him, and his partizans, from their military poſts. Cromwell was no leſs jea-

ſous of them, and being aware of what they deſigned, reſolved to be even with them. Accordingly he took care to whiſper ſuſpicions of the parliament, and make a ſtrong party for military power.

There was actually a deſign on foot, to break ſome of the independant regiments, and ſend the others to Ireland: of which Cromwell getting timely notice, he and Ireton got it inſinuated thro' all the army, that the parliament intended to diſband them without paying their arrears, or elſe to conſume them in Ireland with ſickneſs and famine. This ſo exaſperated the ſoldiers, that when the orders came for disbanding ſome, and tranſporting others, they refuſed to comply with them. When the parliament heard this, they were highly offended, and threatening expreſſions came from ſome of the members; which occaſioned Cromwell, then in the houſe, to whiſper Ludlow, who ſtood by, ſaying, "theſe men will never leave, till the army pull them out by the ears."

§. 4. A ſpirit of oppoſition being thus raiſed in the army, they began now profeſſedly to enter into competition with the parliament, and to claim a ſhare with them in ſettling the kingdom: and that they might be upon a nearer level with them, they made choice of a number of ſuch officers as they approv'd, which was called the general's council of officers, and was to reſemble the houſe of peers; and three or four out of each regiment, moſtly corporals or ſerjeants, were choſen by the common ſoldiers, and called agitators, who were to anſwer to the houſe of commons. Theſe two bodies met ſeparately, and examined all the acts and orders of the parliament towards ſettling the kingdom, and reforming,

reforming, dividing or disbanding the army: and after ſome conſultations, they unanimouſly declared, " that they would not be divided or disbanded till their full arrears were paid, and till full proviſion was made for liberty of conſcience, which hitherto had been little ſecured." They added, " that as they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part; before they laid down thoſe arms, they would ſee all thoſe ends provided for." This declaration was delivered at the bar of the houſe of commons, by three or four perſons of the army's council.

This contrivance for keeping the army together, and ſetting them up againſt the parliament, was a maſter ſtroke of Cromwell's. It not only ſaved him at preſent, but proved the foundation of all his future greatneſs. For the army continued reſolute in their deſign, and grew more haughty in their expreſſions, till the difference ſeemed almoſt irreconcilable. Fairfax the general indeed was a presbyterian; but then Cromwell had ſo much the aſcendant over him, as well as over the army, that he was prevailed with to write a letter to back the army's petitions. Theſe proceedings grievouſly troubled the parliament; but reſolving not to ſubmit to thoſe who lived on their pay, they declared, " that whoſoever ſhould refuſe, being commanded, to engage in the ſervice of Ireland, ſhould be disbanded." The army, however, would not recede from their reſolutions, and falling into direct mutiny, called for the arrears that were due to them, " which they knew where, and how to levy for themſelves." Nor would they be pacified till the declaration againſt them was eraſed out of the journal-book, and a month's pay ſent to them. Nay, they ſtill gave out, " that they knew how to make themſelves

ſelves as conſiderable as the parliament, and where to have their ſervice better eſteemed and requited." Which ſo ſtartled the parliament, that they ſent a committee of both houſes, to treat with a committee of the officers, upon the beſt means for compoſing theſe differences. And thus the army, by a conceſſion of the parliament's, ſeemed to be put upon a level with it: which diſpoſed Fairfax to a greater concurrence with the humour of the ſoldiers, as he ſaw it ſo much complied with, and ſubmitted to.

§. 5. Cromwell hitherto thought it neceſſary to keep fair with the parliament; and, through his choice knack at diſſimulation, he would ſeem highly diſpleaſed with the inſolence of the ſoldiers, and inveighed bitterly againſt their preſumption in the houſe of commons, when any of their addreſſes were preſented. He alſo propoſed, that the general might be ſent down to the army; who, he ſaid, would ſoon conjure down this mutinous ſpirit. Himſelf, by theſe means, was once or twice ſent, to reduce them to order; when, after ſtaying two or three days, he returned again to the parliament, with heavy complaints of the great licence that was got into the army; declaring, "that for his own part, he was rendered ſo odious to them by ſome artifice of his enemies, that they had deſigned to kill him, if he had not timely eſcaped out of their hands." But he was greatly ſuſpected by ſome, notwithſtanding this, of having under-hand encouraged the army's proceedings; and the moſt active officers and agitators were believed to be his own creatures, who would do nothing without his directions: ſo that it was privately reſolved by the chief members of the houſe commons, that when

when he came the next day to the houſe, which he ſeldom failed to do, they would ſend him to the tower.

This deſign could not be managed ſo ſecretly, but Cromwell got intelligence of it. The next day, when the houſe expected every minute to ſee him come in, they were informed he was met out of town by break of day, with only one ſervant, poſting away to the army. Here he ordered a rendezvous of ſome regiments of horſe, and then diſpatched a letter to the houſe of commons, to acquaint them, "that the jealouſy the troops had conceived of him was much abated, and he had therefore been invited by the officers to his own regiment, in order to reclaim them by his advice; in which view he made all poſſible haſte to the army." He alſo adviſed a general rendezvous of the troops, and that general Fairfax might be ſent down with all expedition.

§. 6. It was during this quarrel between the houſe of commons and the army, that Cromwell gave the world that ſpecimen of his deep artifice, which was related by ſir Harbottle Grimſton to biſhop Burnet. In a meeting of officers it was propoſed to purge the army better, in order to know whom they might depend on. Cromwell ſaid, "he was ſure of the army; but there was another body, naming the houſe of commons, that wanted more to be purged, and the army could only do that." This was reported to the houſe by Grimſton, and witneſſes atteſted it at the bar. Whereupon Cromwell, who was preſent, fell down upon his knees, and made a ſolemn prayer to God, atteſting his innocence, and great zeal for the ſervice of the houſe. This he did with great vehemence, and many tears: after which he made a long ſpeech, juſtifying himſelf, and the reſt of the officers,

officers, except a few, who ſeemed inclinable to return back to Egypt, as he phraſed it. And ſo was the houſe wrought upon by theſe means, that what the witneſſes ſaid was little believed; and Grimſton was of opinion, that had the motion been made, both he and they would have been ſent to the Tower. Cromwell however no ſooner got out of the houſe, but he reſolved not to truſt himſelf there again: ſo haſtening to the army, he in a few days brought them to town, and did in effect purge the houſe of many members, which enabled him to treat the reſt juſt as he pleaſed.

There is another ſtory of mr. Locke, in his memoirs of Anthony Aſhley Cooper, the firſt earl of Shaftſbury, which deſerves to be here inſerted. He tells us, that ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper (for he was not a lord till after the reſtoration) calling upon mr. Holles, in his way to the houſe, found him in a great heat againſt Cromwell, ſaying, he was reſolved to bring him to puniſhment. Cooper ſhewed him how dangerous ſuch an attempt might be, earneſtly diſſauded him from it, and told him it would be enough to ſend him with a command into Ireland; which, as things ſtood, he would be glad to accept. But this would not ſatisfy Holles, who, when he came to the houſe, brought the matter to a debate, wherein it was moved, that Cromwell, and thoſe guilty with him, ſhould be puniſhed. Cromwell being then in the houſe, immediately ſtole out, took horſe, and haſtened away to the army, which was at Triploe-heath, where he informed them of what was now doing in the houſe by the preſbyterian party, and made ſuch uſe of it, that the army united under him, who forthwith led them to London, giving out ſuch menaces againſt Holles and his party, that they were fain to abſent themſelves; whereby the independant party became the ſtrongeſt. Soon after meeting

ing ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Cromwell ſaid to him, " I am beholden to you for your kindneſs to me; for you, I hear, were for letting me go without puniſhment; but your friend, God be thanked, was not wiſe enough to take your advice."

It was the deſign of the levellers, who were now a great part of the army, not only to aboliſh monarchy, but alſo the houſe of peers, and to eſtabliſh a pure democracy. This was what colonel Rainsborough, one of their leaders, aſſiſted by others, went about ſoliciting from one regiment to another; ſtirring up the ſoldiers againſt Fairfax, Cromwell, and the other general officers, who were ſuſpected of being for an accommodation. But Cromwell was reſolved to endeavour the ſuppreſſion of this licence, which he thought could be effected only by ſome extraordinary act of authority. Being accompanied therefore with divers officers, he with a wonderful briſkneſs rode up to one of their regiments, which wore the diſtinguiſhing marks, and commanded them to take them out of their hats; which they refuſing to do, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized, and knocked down two or three with his own hand; and the others hearts failing, they ſubmitted to him. He ordered one of thoſe whom he had ſeized to be ſhot dead on the place, and delivered the reſt into the hands of the marſhal: then writing up an account of what he had done to the parliament, they returned him the thanks of the houſe.

He ſuppreſſed them in like manner ſome time after, when upon aboliſhing the council of agitators, they were once more exaſperated. There being a rendezvous at Ware, ſeveral regiments, among whom was Cromwell's own, in purſuance of a petition they had preſented Fairfax, and in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves, wore white in

their

their hats, as they had done before. Cromwell having notice of the deſign, ordered two regiments of horſe from diſtant quarters, who knew nothing of this combination, to appear there likewiſe. Being all drawn up, Cromwell with an angry and down look walks round, and on a ſudden commands one of thoſe two regiments to encompaſs a regiment of foot. This being done accordingly, he called four men by their names out of the body, and with his own hands committed them to the marſhal; and immediately calling a council of war, (whilſt the reſt of the confederates ſlunk their white colours into their pockets, and trembled at the boldneſs of Cromwell) tried and condemned them. But they had the favour of caſting lots for their lives; and the two whoſe lot it was to die, were preſently ſhot to death by the other two, in ſight of the army.

§. 8. The parliament and army being united againſt the king, upon his majeſty's refuſing to ſign the four preliminary bills, and colonel Rainsborough appointed admiral of the fleet, tumults and diſcontents began to renew among the people. In the mean time Cromwell appointed a meeting of ſeveral leading men of the presbyterian and independant parties, both members of parliament and miniſters, in order to promote a reconciliation between the two intereſts. He could not indeed effect it, on account of theſe inveterate animoſities; but the attempt ſhewed how indefatigable he always was, and how fruitful in ſchemes for the ſervice of the cauſe.

A like conference was held by his contrivance, between the grandees of the houſe and army, of whom himſelf was one, and the commonwealth's-men. The grandees here delivered themſelves with

with ſome uncertainty, as to the form of government they ſhould prefer; but the commonwealth's-men declared abſolutely againſt monarchy, and recommended the eſtabliſhment of an equal commonwealth. Cromwell, very artfully, ſeemed unreſolved at preſent; but informed Ludlow afterwards, that he was inclined to be of his opinion, as to the expediency of a popular government, and from that time ſeemed to cloſe with the republicans. But this was artifice only, in order to ſecure himſelf in theſe times of danger, under the ſhelter of that powerful party: which Ludlow ſuſpecting, he freely told him, "You know how to cajole and give us good words, when you have occaſion to make uſe of us." Cromwell, however, tho' always ſuſpected by one ſide or the other, and ſometimes by all parties together, yet ſtill preſerved his footing, either by making himſelf neceſſary to the publick in general, or by falling in with the reigning faction, or by ſetting up another faction that might over-balance the former.

One of his moſt effectual engines in theſe enthuſiaſtical times, was his continual pretenſions of humility and devotion, aſcribing the glory of all his actions to the providence of God, ſmiling on the juſtice of the parliament's cauſe. And how little ſoever ſuch a behaviour would take at preſent, it was then the only way of becoming popular; as popularity, eſpecially in the army, was the only infallible way to power; ſo that tho' hypocriſy, in matters of religion, is undoubtedly very odious, yet as much may be here ſaid to extenuate the crime of it, as in any other inſtance I know. One may even venture to ſay, that if Cromwell's diſſimulation be any diſadvantage to his character, we may from the ſame principal condemn moſt of the great men in all ages,

ages, who have conformed with popular prejudices to ſerve the ends of ambition: for whether the point be religion or policy (if indeed there be any difference between theſe two among the great and mighty ones of the earth) the deception is juſt the ſame, and the laws of truth are equally infringed.

§. 9. Soon after the death of the king, the commons voted the houſe of peers to be uſeleſs and dangerous; and an act was accordingly paſs'd for aboliſhing it, though Cromwell is ſaid to have appeared in their behalf. And to remove all that ſtood in the way of their intended commonwealth, they reſolved and declared, "That it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, was unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous to the liberty, ſafety, and publick intereſt of the nation; and therefore it ſhould be utterly aboliſhed." Then the form of government was declared to be a commonwealth; and a council of ſtate was appointed, conſiſting of forty perſons, whereof Cromwell was one; to whom power was given, to command and ſettle the militia of England and Ireland, to order the fleet, and ſet forth ſuch a naval power as they ſhould think fit; to appoint magazines and ſtores for England and Ireland, and to diſpoſe of them for the ſervice of both nations, as they thought proper. And they were to ſit and execute theſe powers for the ſpace of one whole year. From this time all writs, formerly running in the king's name, were to be iſſued out in the names of the keepers of the liberty of England. And a new oath, or engagement was prepared, "to be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed without king or houſe of peers:" all who refuſed to take it, to be uncapable of holding any place or office in church or ſtate.

ſtate. It was during the exiſtence of this commonwealth, in which Cromwell had the chief ſway, that the lord Capel's petition, which his lady delivered, was read in the houſe. That nobleman was condemned for high-treaſon, together with duke Hamilton, the earls of Holland and Norwich, and ſir John Owen. Many ſpoke in his favour, and ſaid, that he had never deceived or betrayed them, but had always freely and reſolutely declared for the king: and Cromwell, who knew him very well, ſpoke ſo many things to his honour, and profeſſed ſo much reſpect for him, that all believed he was ſafe, till he concluded, "That his affection for the public ſo outweighed his private friendſhip, that he could not but tell them, that the queſtion was now, Whether they would preſerve the moſt bitter and moſt implacable enemy they had? That he knew well, that the lord Capel would be the laſt man in England, that would abandon the royal intereſt; that he had great courage, induſtry, and generoſity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he liv'd, what condition ſoever he was in, he would be a thorn in their ſides: and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he ſhould give his vote againſt the petition." By this ſpeech he effectually prevented the lenity of the houſe, which every one thought would have taken place.

About this time, ſeveral things were declared by the parliament to be high-treaſon, and among the reſt, "for any ſoldier of the army to contrive the death of their general, or lieutenant-general; or endeavour to raiſe mutinies in the army." The extending this to the lieutenant-general by name, plainly ſhews what power Cromwell had acquired under that title; and there is good reaſon

ſon to think, that this act was made purely for the ſecurity of his perſon.

§. 10. The wars being all over, as well in Scotland, Ireland, and the reſt of the Britiſh iſles, as in England itſelf, Cromwell, who with the title of lord-general was now poſſeſſed of ſupreme authority, deſired a meeting with ſeveral members of parliament, and ſome of the principal officers of the army, at the ſpeaker's houſe. This was very ſoon after the battle of Worceſter. Whitelock, who was one of the number, gives a remarkable account of the conference here held. Cromwell propoſed, that ſome method might be fixed on for ſettling the liberties of the nation, both civil and ſpiritual: and upon Whitelock's offering in the firſt place, to conſider whether an abſolute republick, or with any mixture of monarchy, were to be preferred; Cromwell added, that Whitelock had hit upon the right point. "It is my meaning, ſays he, that we ſhould conſider, whether a republick, or a mix'd monarchical government, will be beſt to be ſettled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power ſhall be placed." Sir Thomas Widdrington, lord chief juſtice St. John, Lenthall the ſpeaker, and Whitelock, were all of them for monarchy; becauſe any other form of government, they ſaid, would make too great an alteration in the proceedings of our law. Fleetwood was in doubt which to prefer; Desborough and Whalley, both noted republicans, were not for having any mixture of monarchical power. But as to a proper perſon, in caſe ſuch a power were admitted, no body was nominated but one of the late king's ſons. Whereupon Cromwell told them, "that this would be a matter of more than ordinary difficulty; but he really thought, if it might be done with ſafety and preſervation

ſervation of our rights, that a ſettlement with ſomething of monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

It appeared in general, from the diſcourſe that paſſed, that the ſoldiers were for a pure republick, the lawyers for a mix'd monarchy, and many for the duke of Glouceſter to be made king: but Cromwell ſtill put off that debate to ſome other point. Hence it is evident, that having now entertained thoughts of ſetting up for himſelf, his only deſign in this conference, was to diſcover the inclinations of the perſons preſent, that he might make a proper uſe thereof in proſecuting the ends of his own ambition, which was much heightened by the finiſhing ſtroke that was given to his ſucceſſes, in the late glorious victory at Worceſter.

He had already, indeed, a power little leſs than ſovereign. His commiſſion for Ireland expiring, tho' the parliament did not renew it in the ſame form, yet they made him general and commander in chief of all the forces in that kingdom, by virtue of which commiſſion he appointed Fleetwood his deputy: in ſhort, the whole military power was in his hands, and the civil adminiſtration almoſt entirely under his influence; but his ambition aſcended yet higher, and the confuſed ſtate of the legiſlature, while it appeared like a body without a head, gave him at leaſt a plauſible excuſe for puſhing on, and aſſuming that authority to himſelf, which was viſibly wanting.

§. 11. In a converſation with Whitelock alone, ſoon after the conference above-mentioned, he opened himſelf more fully than he had hitherto done. He complained that the officers of the army were inclined to factions and murmurings, and

and ſpread the ſame ſpirit among the private ſoldiers: that the members of the parliament were proud, ambitious, partial, covetous, and many of them ſcandalous in their lives: that it would be impoſſible to prevent the ruin of the nation, unleſs ſome authority were ſet up that might reſtrain and keep things in better order. Whitelock confeſſed the danger they were in from ſuch extravagancies as theſe; but ſaid, his excellency had power to reſtrain the ſoldiers, which, as he had hitherto done, ſo he might do it ſtill: and as to the members of parliament, though ſome of them were to blame, yet better things might be hoped of the reſt. And upon Cromwell's intimating that he could not hope for much good from them, Whitelock inſiſted, that as they had been acknowledged the ſupreme power, and all commiſſions taken out in their name, it would now be very difficult for thoſe who acted under them to curb their authority.

The general finding he did not come to the point, put this ſhort queſtion, "What if a man ſhould take upon him to be king?" Whitelock ſaid, "He thought that the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe:" and gave this reaſon as to Cromwell in particular, that as he had already the full kingly power, the title would only bring with it envy and danger equal to the pomp. Cromwell then argued on the legality of a king by election, and urged the ſtatute of king Henry VII. which makes it ſafer for the people to act under a king, let his title be what it will, than under any other power. The legality Whitelock owned, but much doubted the expediency of it: and being aſked, "What danger he apprehended in taking this title?" he anſwered, "That it would entirely alter the ſtate of the controverſy between them and their adverſaries:

for

for as the diſpute had hitherto been whether the government ſhould be in a monarchy, or in a free commonwealth; the only queſtion then would be, whether Cromwell or Stuart ſhould be monarch; and thus all who were for a commonwealth, being a very conſiderable party, finding their hopes fruſtrated, would be entirely againſt the eſtabliſhment."

Cromwell acknowledged the reaſon of what the commiſſioner had ſaid, and demanded "what other expedient he could propound, that might obviate the preſent dangers and difficulties." But the other waved giving an anſwer, until Cromwell aſſured him that no harm ſhould come of it: then he ſet forth the hazard the general would run from his ſecret enemies, and even from the officers of the army, who would be ſpirited up by many members of parliament and others: and upon the general thanking him for his care, and encouraging him to proceed, he propoſed the bringing in the king of the Scots, meaning Charles the Second, under ſuch reſtrictions as might ſecure the liberty of the ſubject, and with ample proviſions for Cromwell himſelf, and all his friends. Which advice ſeemed not very agreeable; for though Cromwell owned the reaſon of it, he put off the farther conſideration of the affair, and went away with ſome diſpleaſure in his countenance. After this, his carriage towards Whitelock was more cold than formerly, and he ſoon found an occaſion, by appointing him ambaſſador to Sweden, to ſend him out of the nation. This behaviour, as well as another converſation he had with the city divines, plainly indicated that the general's intentions, at this time, were no leſs than to bring the crown upon his own head.

§. 12.

§. 12. The concurrence of leading men not being to be procured, a cry was immediately promoted in the army againſt the long parliament, accompanied with warm declarations for right and juſtice, and publick liberty, which were ſaid to be now wanting, while the members were all kings, and ordered things as they pleaſed. If the parliament would not diſſolve themſelves, it was ſaid, and ſuffer a new repreſentative to be choſen, the army and people muſt do it for them. And that no obſtacle might be in the way of the intended government, means were found to ſet the young duke of Glouceſter at liberty, who had been confined here ever ſince the king's death, and ſend him out of the kingdom.

While this clamour was kept up in the army, and backed every day with petitions, addreſſes, and remonſtrances, demanding the payment of their arrears, and the diſſolution of the parliament, ſome of the officers profeſſed againſt them, and one major Streater was ſo bold as to declare, "that the general deſigned to ſet up for himſelf." Upon which Harriſon, a fifth monarchy man, ſaying he believed the contrary, and that the general's aim was only to make way for the kingdom of Jeſus; the major replied, "Unleſs Jeſus comes very ſuddenly, he will come too late."

During theſe tranſactions abroad, a diſſolution was moved for in the houſe itſelf, by ſome of Cromwell's friends; but the only effect it had, was to procure a vote for filling up the houſe, and to declare it high treaſon for any one to propoſe a change in the preſent government. Hereupon Cromwell held a conſultation with ſome officers and members whom he knew to be in his intereſt, to conſider of ſome expedient for carrying

rying on the government, and putting an end to the parliament. But at their ſecond meeting, news being brought that the parliament were then ſitting, and it was hoped would diſſolve themſelves, the conference was broke off, and the members preſent left Cromwell, to go and ſtrengthen his intereſt in the houſe; when, contrary to their expectation, they found a motion under debate, for continuing the preſent parliament above a year and a half longer. The news of this was carried to Cromwell, who went directly to Weſtminſter.

Having brought with him a party of ſoldiers, to the number of three hundred, he placed ſome of them at the doors, ſome in the lobby, and others on the ſtairs; then entering the houſe, he told his friend St John "that he came to do that which grieved him to the ſoul; but there was a neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation." He then ſat down for ſome time, and heard the debates on the foremention'd act, making an offer to put his deſign in execution, but was diſſuaded from it by Harriſon. At laſt, when the queſtion for paſſing the act was put, he ſaid to Harriſon, "This is the time, I muſt do it." And ſo ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bade the ſpeaker leave the chair, and told the houſe "they had ſet long enough, unleſs they had done more good." Then charging ſeveral particulars with their private vices, he told them in general, "that they had not a heart to do any thing for the publick good, but only an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power." And when ſome of them began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the middle of the houſe, and ſaid, "Come, "come, I will put an end to your prating." Then, walking up and down the houſe, he cried out, "You are no parliament, I ſay you are no

parliament; and ſtamping with his feet, he bid them be gone, and make room for honeſter men. Upon this ſignal the ſoldiers entered, and he ſaid to one of them, "take away that fool's bauble," meaning the mace; and Harriſon taking the ſpeaker by the arm, he came down from the chair. After this, addreſſing himſelf to the members, the general told them, "they had forced him to do this:" So ſeizing on all their papers, he ordered the ſoldiers to clear the houſe of the members; and having cauſed the doors to be locked up, he returned to Whitehall. In the afternoon he did the ſame thing by the council of ſtate, where he was boldly oppoſed by ſerjeant Bradſhaw. But nothing could ſtop him in the execution of his deſign.

CHAP. VII.

A view of Cromwell's *civil government.*

§. 1. CROMWELL had three aſſemblies during his whole adminiſtration, that met under the name of parliaments. Conſidering all circumſtances, it could hardly be expected that the firſt of theſe, before he knew the temper of the nation, ſhould be left to the choice of thoſe very electors, whoſe repreſentatives he had diſſolved. But it was ſoon manifeſt that this diſſolution was very grateful and acceptable to the majority of the people; for when he and his council of officers publiſhed a declaration, ſetting forth the reaſons of this arbitrary proceeding, it was anſwered by addreſſes and congratulations from the fleet, the army, and the corporations, who acknowledged the juſtice of the action, and promiſed to ſtand by the preſent government. And this very affair gave riſe to the practice of addreſſing, which hath ſince been ſo common under all our monarchs.

Under this convention, choſen by ſummons directed to particular perſons, it appeared that ſo far was Cromwell from deſigning to take away the freedom of parliaments, that in the inſtrument of government then paſſed, which conſtituted him lord protector, proviſion was made for the elections in a more equitable manner, and

with leſs poſſibility of corruption and miniſterial influence, than ever had been known under the beſt monarchs; and this by confining the choice to the counties, cities, and great boroughs, according to their number of people, and their real intereſt in the lands, wealth, and trade of the kingdom. He alſo united the three kingdoms in one common intereſt, by allowing Scotland and Ireland to ſend repreſentatives to the parliament at Weſtminſter. All this will appear in the inſtrument itſelf, which was paſſed on the 12th of December, 1653, and conſiſted of 42 articles.

§. 2. The protector having been inſtalled and ſworn, in a very pompous and ſolemn manner, proceeded to the exerciſe of his authority; which he uſed at home with great moderation and equity; but ſo effectually aſſerted at all foreign courts, that he ſoon made the greateſt figure in Europe, and received marks of reſpect from all the ſovereigns in Chriſtendom, who trembled at his power, and courted his friendſhip, at the ſame time that they hated his perſon.

At the time appointed he ſummon'd his ſecond parliament, according to the tenor of the recited inſtrument; and the third of September being his fortunate day, though it happened to be Sunday, he reſolved to open the ſeſſion. This he did with all the ſolemnity of our kings, in the Painted Chamber at Whitehall; and the next day riding in ſtate to Weſtminſter, he there heard a ſermon; after which, in a long and artful ſpeech to the parliament, he took a view of the ſtate of the nation, and the advantages that had been procured under the preſent government.

§. 3.

§. 3. But this parliament, having choſen Lenthal for their ſpeaker, fell immediately upon the only point which the protector would have kept ſacred. They took the inſtrument of government into conſideration, and their firſt debate was upon this queſtion, "Whether the ſupreme legiſlative power of the nation ſhould be in a ſingle perſon, and a parliament." Theſe debates continued for ſeven or eight days, till he ſilenced them by a ſpeech, and a recognition oath impoſed on all the members that entered the houſe. Being reſtrained therefore from diſputing the protector's title, they fell upon the other articles of the inſtrument. They declared, "That Oliver "Cromwell ſhould be protector during life; and "limited the number of forces to be kept up "in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with pro-"viſion for the payment of them. They agreed "upon the number of ſhips that they thought "neceſſary for the guard of the ſeas, and or-"dered 200,000 l. a year for the protector's "own expence, the ſalaries of his council, the "judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception "of ambaſſadors; and that Whitehall, St. "James's, the Mews, Somerſet-houſe, Green-"wich, Hampton-court, Windſor, and the ma-"nor of York, be kept unſold for the protector's "uſe." They alſo voted a clauſe to be inſerted, to declare the rights of the people of England; and particularly, "that no money ſhould be "raiſed upon the nation but by authority of "parliament. And whereas by the inſtrument "of government it was provided, that if the "parliament were not ſitting at the death of the "preſent protector, the council ſhould chuſe a "ſucceſſor; they reſolved, that nothing ſhould "be determined by the council after his death, "but the calling of a parliament, who were

" then to conſider what they would have done." They alſo approved and confirmed the preſent lord deputy of Ireland, the preſent lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal of England, the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and the two chief juſtices. Among other things, they debated the point of liberty of conſcience upon the new government, and agreed to allow it all who ſhall not maintain atheiſm, popery, prelacy, profaneneſs, or any damnable hereſies, to be enumerated by the parliament.

Many things were ſaid during theſe debates, which gave great offence to Cromwell and his council. In a word, this parliament was diſſolved after a ſeſſion of five months, by a very tedious and intricate ſpeech, wherein the protector upbraided them with their late proceedings. And who could wonder at it? Was there ever a man in poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority, who would ſuffer that authority to be publickly queſtioned? While they had a liberty of doing all they would for the honour of the nation, could they expect the privilege too of inſulting that magiſtrate, in whoſe name they were ſummoned together?

The protector's third parliament, which met on the 17th of September, 1656, was found more complying than either of the former. Some of the members however were excluded, for want of being approved by his highneſs's council; which occaſioned them to petition and remonſtrate very ſtrongly againſt the proceedings of the court. But thoſe who kept their ſeats having choſen ſir Thomas Widdrington for their ſpeaker, not only approved of the protector's conduct in the war he had undertaken againſt Spain, but paſſed ſeveral acts for ſecuring his perſon and title, for carrying on the preſent war,

war, and for the encouragement of trade; all which received the aſſent of his highneſs, who, in a ſhort ſpeech, returned them thanks for their care in ſupporting his government.

§. 4. This parliament had not ſat above ſix months, before they drew up a new inſtrument, in order to compliment the protector with the title of king. It met with much oppoſition from the republicans, and the ſoldiers party: but at laſt was carried, and the word king ordered to be inſerted in a blank that was left for that purpoſe; and two other blanks that were left for the parliament, were to be filled up with the words Houſe of commons and Other houſe. This inſtrument, called "the humble petition and advice of the parliament to his highneſs," was preſented to his highneſs by the ſpeaker, who recommended the contents of it in a ſpeech. But the protector, how inclinable ſoever he was to accept of this offer, finding it againſt the humour of the army, and eſpecially that his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, and his brother-in-law Desborough, were peculiarly averſe to it, inſtead of giving a ready aſſent, which was expected, deſired "that a committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and ſatisfaction in this great cauſe."

Cromwell, as well as Cæſar, whom he reſembled on many accounts, was not ſo fond of a title which he ſaw would create diſcontent, as to aſſume it at all adventures. Fond indeed he would have been of it if theſe obſtacles had not interfered: but when he found that his beſt friends in the army were immoveable, all the arguments of the commons committee, of which Whitelock was chairman, tho' they were inculcated for two days together, could not prevail

with him to run the risk of losing the affections of the soldiers. After long deliberation therefore, and some close conferences with his brother and son-in-law before-mentioned, who stood firmly to their opinion, he ordered the parliament to attend him in the Painted-chamber, and there, in an obscure speech, containing much about conscience, and the pains he had taken to satisfy himself, declared, "that he could not undertake the government with the title of king." Tho' at the same time he intimated, that he thought the settlement imperfect without it; and every one might discover that the motive of his refusal was rather policy than conscience.

While this business was in agitation, the lord Broghill coming one day to Cromwell, and telling him he had been in the city, the protector enquired of him, "what news he had heard "there?" Broghill told him, "he had heard he was in treaty with the king, who was to be restored, and to marry his daughter." Cromwell shewing no displeasure at this, his lordship continued, "In the state to which things are reduced, I can see no better expedient: you may bring him in upon what terms you please; and your highness may retain the same authority you now have, with less trouble." To this Cromwell answered, "The king can never forgive his father's blood." Broghill replied, "You are one of the many that were concerned in that, but will be alone in the merit of restoring." Upon which the protector said, he is so damnably debauched, he will undo us all;" and so went off to other discourse, without any emotion; which made his lordship conclude that he had often thought of the expedient. This story is told by bishop Burnet, who had it from lord Broghill, when earl of Orrery.

Mr.

Mr. Echard tells us of a private application made by king Charles himſelf to Cromwell, which he ſays came from the mouth of the dutcheſs of Lauderdale, who told the ſame to a perſon of whoſe credit he could make no queſtion. That lady, afterwards dutcheſs of Lauderdale, being a particular friend and acquaintance of Cromwell's, was employed, it ſeems, to make a private propoſal and offer to him, in ſubſtance as follows: "That if he would reſtore, or permit the king to return to his throne, he would ſend him a blank paper, for him to write his own terms and limitations, and ſettle what power and riches he pleaſed upon himſelf, family, and friends." This propoſal was firſt communicated to the protector's lady, who liked it very well; believing that, beſides other advantages, it would bring abſolute indemnity and ſecurity to her husband, and the whole family. She therefore took an opportunity, when ſhe was in bed with him, to mention the offer to him, and endeavoured to perſuade him to accept of it, as being of the higheſt moment to the happineſs of himſelf and relations. But he, without minding her arguments and perſuaſions, preſently told her, "She was a fool;" adding this ſhrewd ſentence; "If Charles Stuart can forgive me all that I have done againſt him and his family, he does not deſerve to wear the crown of England."

§. 5. Cromwell having refuſed the title of king, the parliament ſoon voted, "That he ſhould enjoy the title and authority he had already;" which was in many particulars enlarged beyond what it was by the former inſtrument, by the new one, called, "the humble petition and advice."

This inſtrument being digeſted and agreed upon, the houſe ſent to the protector for an audience, which he appointed to be on the 25th of May, in the Banquetting-houſe. The members waiting upon him accordingly, their ſpeaker Widdrington preſented and read the ſaid inſtrument to him, and deſired his aſſent; which, after a long pauſe, he, with all the geſtures of concern and perplexity, granted. And thus did his highneſs accompliſh a chief part of what he deſigned, which was to have his power and authority confirmed by parliament.

§. 6. It was thought proper, after this tranſaction, that the protector ſhould have a ſolemn inveſtiture. Notice of this was given to all foreign ambaſſadors and miniſters, and Weſtminſter-hall was prepared and adorned as ſumptuouſly as it could be for a coronation. In ſhort, the ceremony was performed on the 26th of June, 1657, with the utmoſt grandeur and magnificence, amid the loud acclamations of the people; and there was a fine medal ſtruck on the occaſion, which had on one ſide the protector's buſt, with his title round it, and on the other an olive tree flouriſhing in a field, with the words "non deficient olivæ," by way of alluſion to his name.

Things went on amicably between the protector and his parliament, many bills were paſſed and ſigned, and the greateſt harmony ſeemed eſtabliſhed. But about the beginning of the year 1658, his highneſs, according to the tenor of the late petition and advice, ſent his writs of ſummons to divers perſons, to ſit as members of the other, or upper houſe. The forms of theſe writs, which were about ſixty, were the ſame as uſed by our monarchs, for the ſummoning of peers to parliament; and indeed many of the perſons

perſons ſummoned were actually peers, and others were made ſo in the ſucceeding reign. Theſe being met in the houſe of lords, the protector went thither in royal ſtate, and made a ſpeech from the throne, beginning in the old ſtile, "My lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of the houſe of commons."

This ſtep however, occaſioned a diviſion in the lower houſe, which ended in the diſſolution of this his third and laſt parliament. For ſeveral of theſe new lords being taken from among the commons, his intereſt was weakened in that houſe, to which many of the ſecluded members were alſo now admitted. Hereupon they fell to examining the authority and juriſdiction of the other houſe. And his highneſs finding them obſtinate on theſe points, after having adviſed them to unity without effect, ſent for them by the black rod into the lords houſe, where he declared "ſeveral urgent and weighty reaſons, which made it neceſſary for him to diſſolve this parliament;" and accordingly he did diſſolve them.

§. 7. When Cromwell firſt aſſumed the government, there were three great parties in the nation all againſt him, the epiſcopal party, the presbyterians, and the republicans. It required the greateſt ſkill and dexterity to manage theſe very oppoſite factions, and to prevent the ill effects of the plots and conſpiracies they were ſo ready to run into. All this however he was able to accompliſh, by the ſuperior force of his genius; and biſhop Burnet, who was no friend to the protector's memory, informs us in what manner he proceeded. He had, according to that prelate, only the army to rely upon; and that enthuſiaſtick ſpirit he had taken ſo much pains to raiſe among them, rendered them very intractable;

intractable: So that he was forced to break and impriſon many of his officers; and he flattered the reſt as well as he could, going on in his old way of long and dark diſcourſes.

He was apprehenſive of aſſaſſination, and other plottings, from the cavalier party: as to the former of which, he took a method that proved of great uſe to him. He would many times openly declare, "that in a war it was neceſſary to return upon any ſide, all the violent things that any of the one ſide did to the other; and this for the preventing greater miſchief, and for bringing men to fair war: and that aſſaſſinations were ſuch deteſtable things, that he would never begin them; but if any of the King's party ſhould endeavour to aſſaſſinate him, and fail in it, he would make an aſſaſſinating war of it, and deſtroy the whole family." And he pretended he had inſtruments to do this, whenever he ſhould order it. This ſtruck ſuch a terror, that it proved a better ſecurity to him than his guards. And whenever they were plotting againſt him, he had his agents and ſpies amongſt them, to give him notice of their preparations and proceedings; by which means all their ſchemes were broken, and their deſigns fruſtrated, before they could bring them to perfection.

The presbyterians ſo dreaded the fury of the commonwealth party, that they looked upon Cromwell's turning them out to be a happy deliverance for them: and to ſoften theſe the more, he aſſured them, that he would maintain a publick miniſtry, with all due encouragement, which the republicans were moſtly againſt; and he joined them in a commiſſion with ſome independants, to be tryers of all public preachers, who ſhould, for the future, be admitted to any benefice. The perſons ſo commiſſioned did likewiſe diſpoſe of all the livings

livings that were in the gift of the crown, of the biſhops, and of the cathedral churches. Nevertheleſs, when he perceived that the presbyterians began to take too much upon them, to be uneaſy under the government, or meddle in civil affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let looſe againſt them thoſe of the other ſects, who took pleaſure in diſputing with their preachers, and interrupting their religious worſhip: and 'tis ſaid, he was by many heard to glory, "that he had curb'd that inſolent ſect, that would ſuffer none but itſelf." So that they were forced to thank him for permitting them the exerciſe of their religious worſhip in their own congregations.

The republican party were his greateſt enemies, and moſt bent on his ruin; looking on him as the perſon who had perfidiouſly broken all their meaſures, and betrayed their glorious cauſe. This party therefore he ſtudied by all means to divide among themſelves, and to ſet the fifth-monarchy men, and other enthuſiaſts, againſt thoſe who proceeded only upon the principles of civil liberty; ſuch as Algernon Sidney, Henry Nevill, Martin, Ludlow, Wildman, and Harrington.

As to Vane and his party, who were likewiſe independents, they indeed, from the time they were turned out of the long parliament, retired quietly into the country, where they endeavoured to prejudice their neighbours againſt the preſent government, and yet managed themſelves with ſo much caution, as not to diſturb the quiet of the nation, nor give the protector any great advantage againſt them.

The levellers, many of whom had been the moſt active agitators in the army, were the moſt furious and deſperate of all the commonwealth party. Theſe, from the time the general aſ-

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ſumed the title of protector, which was to them as odious as that of king, profeſſed a mortal hatred to his perſon; and he knew very well that theſe men, as well as the laſt mentioned, had great credit in the army, and with ſome of the chief officers; ſo that he more really dreaded them than all the king's party, and ſubtily coloured many of the preparations he made againſt them, as if they had been deſigned againſt the other.

The fifth-monarchy men ſeemed to be in daily expectation of the coming of king Jeſus, and the protector found it no eaſy matter to give them ſatisfaction; ſince his aſſuming the government after this manner, looked like a ſtep to the kingſhip, which they repreſented as the great antichriſt, which hindered Chriſt's being ſet on his throne. To theſe men he would ſay with many tears, "that he would rather have taken a ſhepherd's ſtaff than the protectorſhip; ſince nothing was more contrary to his genius, than a ſhew of greatneſs: but he ſaw it was neceſſary at that time, to keep the nation from falling into extreme diſorder, and from being open to the common enemy; and therefore he only ſtept in between the living and the dead, in that interval, till God ſhould direct them on what bottom they ought to ſettle; and then he would ſurrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the ſorrow with which he was affected, while under that ſhew of dignity." He would alſo carry himſelf with great familiarity towards theſe men, and enter into the terms of their old equality, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down covered by him, that he might ſee how little he cared for thoſe diſtances, which, for form's ſake, he was forced to keep up with others;

others; and their diſcourſe commonly ended in a long prayer.

Thus, with much ado, he pretty well managed the enthuſiaſts of the commonwealth party. As to the other republicans, many of whom were inclined to deiſm, he called them 'the heathens, and acknowledged he could not ſo eaſily work upon them. He had ſome chaplains of all ſorts, and became at length more gentle to the epiſcopal party, who had their meetings in ſeveral places about London, without being moleſted by him. In the end, even the Roman catholicks courted him; and he with wonderful art carried things farther with all parties than was thought poſſible, conſidering the great difficulties he had to encounter with. For, that he might the better manage the ſeveral factions he ſtood moſt in awe of, he made choice of the moſt active and leading men into his council, by whoſe influence he had the guiding of all the reſt of each party.

§. 8. But notwithſtanding this refined management, and the great influence he had over the nation in general, there were ſeveral plots and conſpiracies formed againſt him during his protectorſhip. The firſt deſign that was diſcovered, at the head of which were mr. Fox, mr. Gerard, and mr. Vowell, was to murder him in his way to Hampton Court, to ſeize the guards, the Tower, and the magazines, and then to proclaim the king. For this Gerard was beheaded on Tower hill, and Vowel hanged at Charing-croſs: but Fox, by making an open confeſſion, obtained his pardon.

In the ſame year, 1654. a deſign was formed for a general riſing of the royaliſts, in divers parts of the kingdom. But the private intelligence which

which the protector received of it, on which ſeveral perſons were apprehended, and many arms ſeized, prevented the fury of the intended blow. Something however was attempted in the north, but to no effect; the revolters diſperſing before any forces arrived againſt them, and leaving all their arms. The moſt obſtinate ſtruggle was in the weſt, at the time of Salisbury aſſizes, where the conſpirators ſeized the two judges, and took away their commiſſions: but this too was quickly over, without the help of the army. Colonel Penruddock, capt. Grove, and a few others, were executed for it at Exeter; and ſome of the common people concerned were tranſported to the Weſt-Indies. This plot, which was deſigned to ruin the protector, ſerved but to advance his credit, and confirm his authority. It cleared him of the reproach of inventing plots himſelf, as a pretence to keep up the army; and gave him a good colour of excuſe for the order which ſoon followed, by advice of his council, "that all who had borne arms for the king, and declared themſelves of his party, ſhould be decimated, or pay a tenth part of their eſtates, to ſupport the charge of ſuch extraordinary forces, as their ſeditious practices obliged him to keep up." This was accompany'd with a declaration, "that the charge ſhould be laid upon thoſe who had occaſioned it, and not upon the party who had already been ſo much ſufferers."

The laſt ſtruggle of the royal party was about a year before the protector's death. There was not only to be an inſurrection in England, but ſeveral regiments in Flanders commanded by Engliſhmen, who were then aſſiſting the Spaniards againſt the French and Cromwell, were to have been ſuddenly tranſported over. And to promote the riſing at home, a very bold paper was

was induſtriouſly diſperſed, entitled, " Killing no murder ;" the deſign of which was to get the protector aſſaſſinated. It was written by colonel Titus, under the borrowed name of William Allen. But ſo good was the intelligence which his highneſs kept up, that he had ſeized ſeveral of the conſpirators before they could get together, and publiſhed a proclamation for apprehending of others. This was followed by addreſſes from the city of London and the army, which greatly intimidated all that had engaged for the king ; and ſo upon the execution of dr. Hewet, ſir Henry Slingſby, and a few of meaner rank, the whole affair blew over.

This attempt, however, was thought the more formidable, becauſe another conſpiracy was at the ſame time on foot, among the fifth-monarchy men. Major-general Harriſon was very deep in this affair, and ſeveral conſultations had been held about it, at a houſe in Shoreditch. But their proceedings were all known through the means of ſecretary Thurloe, and the heads of their party ſeized on the very night appointed for their rendezvous. Theſe were committed to priſon, and there kept for a long time ; but none of them were executed till after the reſtoration, for other crimes.

There had, before this, been two bold attempts by ſome of the republican party. The firſt was in 1654, when major John Wildman, who had been expell'd the houſe of commons by the protector, was ſeized with a paper dictated by him, entitled, " The declaration of the free and well-affected people of England, now in arms againſt the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Eſq;" But this man, contrary to the expectation of all his friends, was after a ſhort impriſonment ſet at liberty. The other was in 1656, when Miles Syndercomb, a leveller

leveller that had been caſhier'd, combined with two of the protector's life-guard, to aſſaſſinate him near Brentford. Syndercomb, being betray'd by the other, ſtoutly denied the fact, but was condemned by lord-chief-juſtice Glynn. He died before the day appointed for his execution, and was buried on Tower-hill, where a ſtake was drove through his body.

§. 9. In order to make his government ſecure, at the time when the royaliſts were plotting his deſtruction, Cromwell inſtituted a new order of deputies, under the name of major-generals, who were in the nature of prefects, or governors of provinces. They were to have the inſpection of the inferior magiſtrates in every county, to commit ſuſpected perſons into cuſtody, and to put in execution many other directions: there was no appeal from them, but to the protector himſelf. This office however continued not long: for being inveſted with great power, the major-generals carried it in a very high and arbitrary manner; which occaſioned their ſuppreſſion by the parliament, at the motion of mr. Claypole, the protector's ſon-in-law.

It was hardly poſſible, indeed, for any governor, in ſuch a precarious ſituation, to ſhew more regard than Cromwell did for the rights and properties of private men. He ſupplied the benches at Weſtminſter with the ableſt of lawyers, whom he had invited to the publick ſervice. Maynard, Twiſden, Nudigate, Windham, and other gentlemen of great integrity and learning, were made by him ſerjeants at law, and mr. Matthew Hale, afterwards the famous lord chief juſtice ſir Matthew, was advanced to be a juſtice of the common pleas. Mr. John Thurloe, who had been ſecre-

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tary to the chief juſtice St. John, was raiſed to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, of which he acquitted himſelf with indefatigable diligence. Milton, the great Milton, was Latin ſecretary; a man that would have done honour to the mightieſt monarch, to the moſt polite and learned court, in the beſt of ages. In a word, the fleet and army were well paid; the city of London had the power of its own militia, under their old major-general Skippon; and the common people were eaſed of ſome of their taxes.

CHAP. VIII.

Protector Cromwell's *behaviour towards foreign princes and ſtates, his zeal for the honour of* England, *religion, and liberty.*

§. 1. IN the year 1652, a war broke out between the two republicks of England and Holland, which produced the moſt terrible ſea fights that had ever been known, ſome of them laſting for three days ſucceſſively. The brave admiral Blake, with Pen, Dean, Monk, and Ayſcough, on one ſide; were againſt the famous De Ruyter, Van Tromp, De Wit, and other gallant Dutch commanders, on the other. The quarrel began upon the Engliſh demanding the tenth herring of the Dutch fiſhermen on our coaſt, in acknowledgment of the ſovereignty of the ſeas. In the ſeveral engagements of the firſt year, the Engliſh had ſo much the better, that about the beginning of 1653, the ſtates ſent over letters to the Engliſh parliament for putting an end to the war, offering to pay them a large ſum, beſides acknowledging their ſovereignty of the ſeas. Though Cromwell had not yet aſſumed the ſupreme power, yet he had it ſo far in effect, that particular application was made to him in this affair. The negotiation, however, did not ſucceed at preſent,

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But upon Cromwell's turning out the long parliament, their high mightineſſes did not doubt but they ſhould make an advantage of the confuſion, which they thought muſt ſucceed. They no longer applied therefore for peace, but ſent out a fleet with all imaginable diligence. Cromwell, for his part, was not behind-hand with them in his preparations, but gave them ſuch a reception, by his admirals, as they did not expect: ſo that after a long and bloody engagement, in which the Engliſh loſt little beſides their admiral Dean, the Dutch were obliged to ſhelter themſelves behind the ſands between Calais and Dunkirk, to prevent the deſtruction of their whole fleet. This made the ſtates ſue again for peace, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner; to which Cromwell was not averſe, but would allow of no ceſſation till it was actually concluded. Both parties therefore got ready again for an engagement, the Dutch having no leſs than 125 ſail

They came forth with great confidence of ſucceſs; but ſtill found the Engliſh an over-match: for after a fight for two days, in which Van Trump was killed, and about thirty of their ſhips fired or ſunk, they made all the ſail they could towards the Texel. This victory, tho' it coſt the Engliſh dear, was ſo acceptable to Cromwell and his parliament, that a day of thankſgiving was appointed for it; and gold chains, with fine medals repreſenting a ſea fight, were given to the admirals for their good ſervices. On the other hand, it put the Hollanders into the utmoſt confuſion, and occaſioned ſome dangerous inſurrections of the common people. The ſtates applied themſelves therefore to Cromwell's parliament and council; who would grant them no other terms, than the taking a leaſe, and paying

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an annual rent for the liberty of fiſhing in the Engliſh Seas.

But this parliament and council having ſurrendered up their powers to the lord protector, they made a freſh application to him alone; who at laſt, when he ſaw no greater advantages could be expected, granted them a peace upon the following conditions. 1. That they ſhould not permit any of the king's party to reſide within their dominions. 2. That they ſhould never ſuffer the prince of Orange to be ſtadtholder, general, or admiral. 3. That they ſhould reſtore the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt-Indies, which they had taken from the Engliſh in the reign of king James the firſt. 4. That they ſhould pay 300,000 l. for the barbarities formerly exerciſed on the Engliſh at Amboyna. 5. That they ſhould never diſpute the rights of the Engliſh flag. Glorious conditions for the protector! and ſuch as none of our monarchs could procure before him, tho' the terms of the third and fourth articles had been often conteſted.

§. 3. The greateſt difficulty the protector met with, in relation to foreign affairs, was, which ſide to chuſe in the war between France and Spain. Great application was made to him from both ſides. Spain, ſays biſhop Burnet, ordered their ambaſſador de Cardenas, a great and able man, to compliment him, and to engage, that in caſe he would join with them, they would pay him 100,000 crowns per month, and 200,000 crowns by way of advance, and not to make peace till Calais was again recovered to the Engliſh, which had now been loſt about an hundred years. The prince of Conté likewiſe, who was then in hoſtility with France, and ſupported by Spain, offered to turn proteſtant, and, upon Cromwell's aſſiſting

aſſiſting him, to make a deſcent in Guienne, where he doubted not but the proteſtants would join him, and enable him ſo to diſtreſs France, as to obtain for themſelves and for England, what conditions the protector pleaſed to dictate. But that prince's pretenſions, upon farther enquiry, were found to be ill-grounded and vain. Mazarine, on the other hand, endeavoured to outbid Spain, by offering to aſſiſt him to take Dunkirk, then in the Spaniards hands, and a place of much more importance than Calais; and at the ſame time inſinuated, that in caſe he joined with Spain, an army of Huguenots, headed by the king or his brother, ſhould make a deſcent on England; which, at that time, might be of dangerous conſequence to Cromwell, conſidering how many enemies he had at home.

This, the biſhop aſſures us, was the thing that determined him to join with the French; and in conſequence of the treaty, which was concluded ſoon after, the king and duke were diſmiſſed the kingdom of France with many excuſes, ſome money, and abundance of promiſes. The prelate mentions another thing, which, he ſays, had great weight with the protector, while he was yet balancing in his mind about this alliance. One Gage, formerly a prieſt, coming over from the Weſt-Indies, informed him how weak and how wealthy the Spaniards were there; which made him conclude, that it would be both a great and an eaſy conqueſt to ſeize their dominions. And this he thought would ſupply him with ſuch a treaſure, as would thoroughly eſtabliſh his government.

It has been a queſtion much diſputed, whether Cromwell, in joining with France againſt Spain, did really act conſiſtently with the true intereſt of his country? Moſt people have maintained the negative;

gative; but I think with very little reaſon. The condition of France, at that time, was far different from what we have ſeen it in our days. The king was a minor, and the royal family divided among themſelves, which had reduced the conſtitution to a languiſhing ſtate. Whereas the houſe of Auſtria was then united and powerful; and the king of Spain, in particular, was poſſeſſed of the Netherlands, juſt in our neighbourhood, which rendered him formidable, and made it the intereſt of England to ſupport France againſt him. Cromwell then, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, might have, and I believe had, more general and national views in this alliance, than have hitherto been aſcribed to him.

§. 6. This then being the ground of his proceedings, the protector, in order to make the beſt of Gage's information, fitted out a fleet, with a force ſufficient, as he thought, to ſeize Hiſpaniola and Cuba. When the time of ſending out this fleet came on, all men wondered whither it ſhould be deſigned. Some imagined it was to rob the church of Loretto; and this apprehenſion occaſioned a fortification to be drawn round it: others talk'd of Rome itſelf; for the protector's preachers often gave out, "that if it were not for the diviſions at home, he would go and ſack Babylon." Others thought the deſign was againſt Cadiz, though he had not yet broke with Spain. The French knew nothing of the ſecret, and the ptotector, not having finiſhed his alliance with them, was not obliged to impart to them the reaſon of his preparations. All he ſaid about it was this, "that he ſent out the fleet to guard the ſeas, and to reſtore England to its domonion on that element."

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This fleet, conſiſting of about thirty men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Penn, with about four thouſand land-ſoldiers to be commanded by Venables, ſet ſail the beginning of this year, directly for Barbadoes, where the two commanders were ordered to break open their commiſſions. Being ſafely arrived there, and new men taken in to encreaſe the land army, they ſailed to the iſland of Hiſpaniola. Venables landed his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had received from the protector, and marched them thro' ſuch thick woods and uneaſy paſſages, that the Spaniards, with a very unequal number, beat them back; and they were ſoon forced to re-embark. To make ſome amends for this miſcarriage, they made another deſcent on the iſland of Jamaica, and obtained an eaſy poſſeſſion of it; which iſland has ever ſince remained in the hands of the Engliſh: where leaving a good body of foot to ſecure it, they ſailed back to England. The protector was never ſo much diſturbed as at this diſaſter at Hiſpaniola; ſo that Penn and Venables were no ſooner come on ſhore, but he committed them both to the Tower, and could never be prevailed on to truſt either of them again.

§. 6. About the time that Penn and Venables ſet out on this expedition, admiral Blake ſailed with another fleet into the Mediterranean to ſcour thoſe ſeas of the Turkiſh pirates; and not meeting with any of them, he bravely reſolved to ſeek them out in their ports. He came firſt before Algiers, and ſending to the dey, demanded that all the Engliſh ſhips might be reſtored, and all the Engliſh ſlaves releaſed. The dey hereupon ſent a preſent to Blake, and gave him to underſtand,

" that the ſhips and captives already taken belong'd to private men, therefore not ſo much in his power; but yet they ſhould be reſtored at a moderate ranſom; and if the admiral thought good, they would conclude a peace, and for the future offer no acts of violence to any of the Engliſh ſhips and natives."

A peace being accordingly concluded, Blake ſailed from thence to Tunis, where, having made the ſame demand as at Algiers, inſtead of the like ſubmiſſion, he received this reſolute anſwer, " that there were their caſtles of Geletta, and their ſhips and caſtles of Porto-Ferino; he might do his worſt, for he ſhould not think to fright them with the ſight of his fleet." Provoked at this anſwer, Blake reſolved to deſtroy their ſhips in Porto-Ferino. Accordingly he ordered his captains to man their long-boats with ſtout ſeamen, and ſent them into the harbour to fire thoſe ſhips, whilſt the admiral with all his fleet thundered moſt furiouſly againſt their caſtles. The ſeamen ſo bravely performed their parts, that all the Turkiſh ſhips of war were ſoon reduced to aſhes, with the loſs of only twenty-five men, and forty eight wounded, on the Engliſh ſide. Theſe were actions of the higheſt conduct and courage, which made the Engliſh name very formidable in thoſe ſeas.

There was another reaſon of Blake's ſailing into the Mediterranean; which was, to demand ſatisfaction of all princes and ſtates, that had moleſted the Engliſh in the time of confuſion at home. Accordingly, among other places, he ſailed to Leghorn, and diſpatched his ſecretary to demand of the great duke of Tuſcany 60,000 l. for damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh in his dutchy; prince Rupert having taken and ſold as many Engliſh ſhips, as amounted to that value, to the great

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duke's ſubjects. The duke was willing to pay part of the ſum, and deſired time to conſult the pope about the reſt. Blake ſaid, the pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole ſum; which was paid him. The duke pretended that the pope ought to pay part of the damage, ſome of the ſhips having been ſold to his ſubjects; accordingly the next ſucceeding pope repaid 20,000 piſtoles. Admiral Blake ſent home ſixteen ſhips laden with the effects he had received from ſeveral ſtates, for ſatisfactions and damages; and they were ordered to ſail up the Thames together, for a pleaſing ſpectacle to the people.

§. 7. The king of Spain, provoked at the late attempt upon the Weſt Indies, declared war againſt England; and the protector diſpatched orders to admiral Blake, to watch the return of the Spaniſh plate-fleet, and make what deſtruction he could upon the coaſts of Spain; and thought fit now to finiſh his alliance with France, ſending Lockhart his ambaſſador thither for that end. His highneſs undertook to ſend over an army of ſix thouſand foot; and when the forts of Dunkirk and Mardyke ſhould be taken, they were to be put into his hands.

Admiral Blake, and Montague afterwards earl of Sandwich, having blocked up the port of Cadiz for ſome weeks, without being able to bring the Spaniards to a fight, were obliged to ſail to Wyers-bay in Portugal, to take in ſupplies. They left behind them captain Stayner, with only ſeven ſhips; who, while the commanders were retired, perceived the Spaniſh plate fleet making directly to Cadiz. Notwithſtanding the ſmall force he had with him, Stayner reſolved to fall on the Spa-

niards; which he did with ſuccefs, that in a few hours the whole fleet was ſpoiled. One ſhip was ſunk; another burnt, in which the vicercy of Mexico, with his lady, periſhed in the flames: two were forced on ground; one got off, and two remained in the conqueror's hands; which being brought to Portſmouth, the bullion, to the value of two millions, was there landed, and conveyed in carts to London, as a trophy of this great victory.

§. 8. Blake being returned to Cadiz, and having there rode out the winter of 1657, he received intelligence, that another Spaniſh plate-fleet, much richer than the former, was coming home; but, for fear of the Engliſh fleet, had put into the bay of Santa-Cruz in the Canaries. Upon this Blake weighed anchor April the 13th, and by the 20th ſtood off of the ſaid bay; where he accordingly found the galleons arriv'd, to the number of ſixteen men of war. The bay was ſecured by a ſtrong caſtle well furniſhed with ordnance, beſides ſeven forts more in ſeveral parts of it, mounted with ſix, four, and three guns apiece, and united by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was mann'd with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, cauſed all his ſmaller ſhips to moor cloſe to the ſhore, covered by the caſtles and forts, and poſted the ſix large galleons farther off at anchor, with their formidable broadſides to the ſea. A Dutch merchant-man was at this time in the bay, the maſter whereof perceiving the Engliſh were ready to enter, deſir'd Don Diego's leave to depart: "For, ſaid he, I am very ſure Blake will preſently be among us." To which the Don reſolutely anſwered, "Get

you

you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares."

Blake having called a council of war, and finding it impracticable to carry off the galleons, reſolved to burn them all: to which end he ordered captain Stayner, with a ſquadron, to ſtand into the very bay; who by eight the next morning fell furiouſly on the Spaniards, without the leaſt regard to their forts, and fought them almoſt an hour. The admiral ſeconding him, poſted ſome of the larger ſhips to cannonade the caſtle and forts; which play'd their parts ſo well, that the enemy was forced to leave them. Blake for the ſpace of four hours engaged the galleons, which made a brave reſiſtance, but were at laſt abandon'd by the enemy: as were likewiſe the ſmaller veſſels, which lay under the forts; which were burnt by Stayner, whilſt Blake did the ſame by the large galleons: ſo that this whole plate-fleet, of ineſtimable value, was utterly deſtroyed, without the loſs of one Engliſh ſhip, and with no more than forty-eight men killed, and an hundred and twenty wounded. The news of this brave and unparallel'd action being brought to England, the parliament ordered a day of thankſgiving for this great ſucceſs; and the protector, at their deſire, ſent the admiral a diamond ring of 500 l. value, and knighted Stayner at his return to England.

§. 9. Blake, after this noble exploit, ſailed back to Spain, whence, after having long kept all their ports in awe, he returned for England. But falling ſick of a fever, he died in the 59th year of his age, juſt as the fleet was entering into Plymouth Sound; where he paſſionately enquired for the land, but found his own element the more proper bed of honour. He had a publick funeral juſtly beſtowed

upon him, and the honour of being interred in Henry the ſeventh's chapel. The lord Clarendon ſays, "He was the firſt man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt, that the naval ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined; and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhips and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumſpection; as if the principal art requiſite in the captain of a ſhip, had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were reſolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and tho' he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute atchievements." A very proper ſervant this to ſuch a maſter as Cromwell!

Blake had a very great regard to the honour of his country, and the Engliſh dominion of the ſeas. One inſtance of his care to preſerve this honour, mentioned by biſhop Burnet, I cannot omit. He ſays, that Blake happening to be at Malaga with the fleet, before Cromwell made war upon Spain, ſome of the ſeamen going aſhore, met the hoſt, as it was carrying about, and not only refuſed to pay any honour to it, but laugh'd at thoſe that did. Whereupon one of the prieſts ſtirr'd up the people to reſent this affront; and ſo they fell upon them, and beat them ſeverely. The ſeamen returning to their ſhip, and complaining of the uſage they

they had met with, Blake immediately diſpatched a trumpeter to the viceroy, to demand the prieſt who had been the chief occaſion of it: to which the viceroy returned this anſwer, "that he had no authority over the prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of him." But Blake ſent him word again, "that he would not enquire who had power to ſend the prieſt to him; but if he were not ſent within three hours, he would burn their town." And ſo being unable to reſiſt, they ſent the prieſt to him; who juſtifying himſelf upon the rude behaviour of the ſeamen, Blake anſwered, "that if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place; but he took it ill, that he ſet on the Spaniards to do it; for he would have all the world know, that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed by an Engliſhman." And ſo he civilly treated the prieſt, and diſmiſſed him, being ſatisfied that he had him at his mercy. Cromwell was exceedingly pleaſed with this, and read the letters in council with great ſatisfaction, telling them, "he hoped he ſhould make the name of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman had been."

§. 10. While I am ſpeaking of the protector's great care to aſſert and maintain the ſovereignty of the ſea, and the honour of the Engliſh nation, a paſſage occurs from a printed ſpeech made in the houſe of commons, by mr. Poultney, in a debate on the complaints of the Weſt-India merchants, two ſeſſions before the war againſt Spain was declared. It contains perhaps as remarkble a ſtory as is any where to be met with, and the reflections on it are equally honourable to Cromwell, and worthy of the gentleman that made

them, who was neither afraid nor aſhamed to introduce the conduct of one we call an uſurper, as a pattern to legal kings, and modern miniſters.

In the hiſtory of Oliver Cromwell, ſays he, we are told, that an Engliſh merchant-ſhip was taken in the chops of the channel, carried into St. Maloes, and there confiſcated upon ſome groundleſs pretence. As ſoon as the maſter of the ſhip, who was an honeſt quaker, got home, he preſented a petition to the protector in council, ſetting forth his caſe, and praying for redreſs. Upon hearing the petition, the protector told his council, he would take that affair upon himſelf, and ordered the man to attend him next morning. He examined him ſtrictly as to all the circumſtances of his caſe, and finding by his anſwers that he was a plain honeſt man, and that he had been concerned in no unlawful trade, he aſked him, If he would go to Paris with a letter? The man anſwered, he would. Well then, ſays the protector, prepare for your journey, and come to me to-morrow morning. Next morning he gave him a letter to cardinal Mazarine, and told him he muſt ſtay but three days for an anſwer. The anſwer I mean, ſays he, is, the full value of what you might have made of your ſhip and cargoe; and tell the cardinal, that if it is not paid you in three days, you have expreſs orders from me to return home. The honeſt, blunt quaker, we may ſuppoſe, followed his inſtructions to a tittle; but the cardinal, according to the manner of miniſters when they are any way preſſed, began to ſhuffle; therefore the quaker returned, as he was bid. As ſoon as the protector ſaw him, he aſked, "Well, friend, have you got your money?" And upon the man's anſwering he had not, the protector told him, "Then leave your direction with my ſecretary, and you ſhall ſoon hear

hear from me." Upon this occaſion, that great man did not ſtay to negotiate, or to explain, by long tedious memorials, the reaſonableneſs of his demand. No; tho' there was a French miniſter reſiding here, he did not ſo much as acquaint him with the ſtory, but immediately ſent a man of war or two to the channel, with orders to ſeize every French ſhip they could meet with. Accordingly, they returned in a few days with two or three French prizes, which the protector ordered to be immediately ſold, and out of the produce, he paid the quaker what he demanded for the ſhip and cargo. Then he ſent for the French miniſter, gave him an account of what had happened, and told him there was a balance, which, if he pleaſed, ſhould be paid in to him, to the end that he might deliver it to thoſe of his countrymen, who were the owners of the French ſhips, that had been ſo taken and ſold.

And what was the conſequence? it produced no war between the two nations. No; it made the French government terribly afraid of giving him the leaſt offence; and while he lived, they took ſpecial care that no injury ſhould be done to any ſubjects of Great Britain. This ſhews, that Oliver Cromwell had a genius and a capacity for government; and however unjuſtly he acquired his power, it is certain that this nation was as much reſpected abroad, and flouriſhed as much at home, under his government, as it ever did under any government.

§. 11. To proceed: As victory crown'd the protector's arms by ſea, ſo his forces by land were not unſucceſsful. The 6000 men which his highneſs was obliged by his treaty with France to provide, being tranſported under the command of ſir John Reynolds, and major-general Morgan, the

French had no inclination to begin upon Mardyke or Dunkirk, which when taken, were to be put into Cromwell's hands; but marched to other places, which they were to conquer for their own uſe. But his highneſs's ambaſſador Lockhart made ſuch repeated repreſentations to the cardinal, not without ſome menaces; "that his maſter knew where to find a more punctual friend," that as ſoon as they had taken Montmedy and St. Venant, the army inveſted Mardyke. The French and Engliſh had not lain before this ſtrong place above four days, when it was reduced to a ſurrender upon compoſition, and delivered up wholly into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh But preſently after, the French being withdrawn into their winter-quarters, the Spaniards, who were ſenſible of what great importance this place was to the preſerving of Dunkirk, detached a body of horſe and Foot to retake it. Among theſe were 2000 Engliſh and Iriſh, commanded by the Duke of York; and they made two very furious ſtorms upon the fort; but were ſtoutly repulſed, and forced to fly, with the loſs of ſeveral brave commanders.

Marſhal Turenne commanded the army that took Mardyke; to whom cardinal Mazarine wrote thus, at Lockhart's inſtance, before the ſiege: "Nothing can be of more fatal conſequence to France, than the loſs of Cromwell's friendſhip, and the breach of the union with him; which certainly will be broken, if ſome ſtrong town is not taken and put into his hands." This conqueſt was very grateful to Cromwell, who immediately ſent ten men of war to guard the port of Mardyke, and cruize on that coaſt. A foreign writer, ſpeaking of this matter, ſays, "Nothing could flatter the ambition of Cromwell more than this acquiſition, knowing that he had thereby won immortal glory: he had, without the loſs of a

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man, accompliſhed a deſign, which the greateſt kings of England had often attempted in vain, at the expence of their people's blood and treaſure: he had re-eſtabliſhed the Engliſh on the continent, and put them in a condition to make themſelves maſters of both ſides of the channel, which had been deſdained of ſince the loſs of Calais.

§. 12. Not long after the taking of Mardyke, an attempt was made upon Oſtend, but without ſucceſs: for ſome of the garriſon having contracted with Mazarine to deliver it up, it appeared that this was only a feint, carried on with the privity of the governor, who defended himſelf bravely when the beſiegers appeared, killing and taking 1500 French that were landed, and ſorely galling the Engliſh fleet from the forts. But this diſappointment had no very ill effect; for preſently after Dunkirk was inveſted by the French, aſſiſted by the 6000 valiant Engliſhmen, under the inſpection of Lockhart, the protector's ambaſſador, but more immediately under the command of major-general Morgan. Whilſt they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, they had intelligence brought them, that the Spaniſh general Don John of Auſtria, with the prince of Conde, the prince de Ligny, and the Dukes of York and Glouceſter, were advancing with 30,000 men to relieve the place. Hereupon the French king and cardinal were perſuaded to withdraw to Calais, and leave all to be determined by a council of war. In the firſt council, which was held without either Lockhart or Morgan, it was reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, if the enemy came on. But in the next, when thoſe two were preſent, Morgan vehemently oppoſed that reſolution, alledging, "what a diſhonour it would be to the crown of France to have ſummoned a place, and broke ground before it,

it, and then raiſe the ſiege and run away;" and deſiring the council to conſider, that if they raiſed the ſiege, the alliance with England would be broken the ſame hour. Upon which it was reſolved, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the ſiege. And the enemy coming on, a deſperate fight enſued, in which the Spaniards were in a manner totally routed by the Engliſh, before the French came in. At the end of the purſuit, marſhal Turenne, with above 100 officers, came up to the Engliſh, and embracing the officers, ſaid, " they never ſaw a more glorious action in their lives; and that they were ſo tranſported with the ſight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing."

The Spaniſh army being entirely vanquiſh'd, the confederates renewed their attempts upon the town of Dunkirk with great vigour and induſtry; and the marquiſs de Leda, the governor, being mortally wounded, as he was ſallying out upon the beſiegers, the Spaniards within deſired a preſent capitulation: which being granted, this important place was ſurrendered upon articles on the 25th of June 1658; when it was immediately delivered up into the hands of the Engliſh, by the French king and cardinal in perſon, purſuant to the treaty between them and the lord protector.

Sir William Temple aſſures us farther, that cardinal Mazarine having ſurmounted his own dangers, and the difficulties incident to a minority, purſued the plan left him by his predeceſſor, and by the aſſiſtance of an immortal body of 6000 Engliſh, made ſuch a progreſs in Flanders, that Cromwell perceived the balance was turned, and grown too heavy on the French ſide: whereupon he diſpatched a gentleman privately to Madrid, to propoſe there a change of his treaty with France,

France, into one with Spain; by which he would draw his forces over into their ſervice, and make them 10,000, upon condition, their firſt action ſhould be to beſiege Calais, and when taken, to put it into his hands. The perſon ſent upon this errand was paſt the Pyrenees, when he was overtaken by the news of Cromwell's death. This was ſoon followed by a peace between the two crowns, called "the peace of the Pyrenees." Thus we ſee that with whomſoever the protector ſided, his deſign was to aggrandize and ſtrengthen the Engliſh, and to keep the balance of power in his own hands.

§. 13. Though the protector lived but a very ſhort time after the taking of Dunkirk, yet he received greater marks of honour and eſteem from the French court, than were ſhewn to any crowned head in Europe. He ſent over the lord Falconbridge, his ſon-in-law, with a numerous and ſplendid retinue to Calais, where the king and cardinal then were; who received him as a ſovereign prince, the cardinal giving him his right-hand in his apartment, which had never been done to the imperial ambaſſador, nor even to the pope's nuncio. And when his lordſhip took his leave, both the king and his miniſter loaded him with rich preſents, ſome of which were for the protector, and others for himſelf. The compliment was returned to Cromwell by a very ſolemn embaſſy from France, which ſurpaſſed moſt appearances of the ſame kind. But the protector's death put an end to the farther effects of this alliance.

This wonderful man, from the very beginning of his adminiſtration, was complimented and courted by moſt of the powers around him, who acknowledged his ſovereignty, and gave him

him the title of highneſs. All nations contended, as it were, by their ambaſſadors, who ſhould render themſelves moſt acceptable to him. Denmark had the favour of being taken into the Dutch treaty, upon the good terms of making the ſtates reſponſible for 140,000 l. to repair the damage which the Engliſh had ſuffered from the Danes. About the ſame time, by the negotiation of his ambaſſador Whitelock, he made a firm alliance with the kingdom of Sweden. He forced Portugal to ſend an ambaſſador to beg peace, and to ſubmit to make ſatisfaction for the offence they had committed in receiving prince Rupert, by the payment of a great ſum of money. Even France and Spain, in his earlieſt days, ſued for an alliance with him, and ſent over their miniſters for that purpoſe, whom he received with all the ſtate and ſolemnity of a ſovereign prince. He exaggerated nothing therefore in his ſpeech to his ſecond parliament, which he made in favour of his own government.

The truth is, his name became formidable every-where. His favourite alliance was with Sweden; for Charles Guſtavus and he lived in great conjunction of councils. But the ſtates of Holland ſo dreaded him, that they took care to give him no manner of umbrage; inſomuch that when the king or his brother came at any time to viſit their ſiſter, the princeſs of Orange, a deputation of the ſtates was immediately with them, to let them know they could have no ſhelter there. All Italy in like manner trembled at his name, and ſeemed to be under a pannick fear, as long as he lived. His fleets ſcoured the Mediterranean, and the Turks durſt not offend him, but delivered up Hyde, the king's ambaſſador there, who was brought over and executed for aſſuming that character.

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The juſtice done by him on Don Pantaleon-ſa, a very eminent perſon, and brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, was what mightily raiſed the reputation of his power. This man had been guilty of a murder, and taken ſanctuary in his brother's houſe, who inſiſted upon the privilege due to his character. But Cromwell obliged him to deliver up the criminal, who being tried by a jury of half Engliſh and half foreigners, was condemned to die; and accordingly was beheaded on Tower-hill. And it is very remarkable, that on the day of this execution, the Portugal ambaſſador was obliged to ſign the articles of peace between the two nations; whereupon he immediately went out of town. And it is obſerv'd of this affair, to the honour of the protector, that whatever reaſon the houſe of Auſtria had to hate his memory, the emperor Leopold, near twenty years after Cromwell's death, brought it as a precedent to juſtify his carrying off the prince of Furſtemburg at the treaty of Cologne, notwithſtanding his being a plenipotentiary for the elector of that name. And in the printed manifeſto publiſhed by the emperor on that occaſion, this piece of Cromwell's juſtice is related at large.

Few princes, ſays Wellwood, ever bore their character higher upon all occaſions than Oliver Cromwell, eſpecially in his treaties with crown'd heads. And it is a thing without example, that is mentioned by one of the beſt informed hiſtorians of the age, Puffendorf, in his life of the late elector of Brandenburgh; that in Cromwell's league with France and Spain, he would not allow the French king to call himſelf king of France, but of the French; whereas he took to himſelf not only the title of protector of England, but likewiſe of France. And what is yet

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more ſurprizing, and hardly to be believed, but for the authority of the author, the protector's name was put before the French king's, in his inſtrument of the treaty.

§. 14. During his adminiſtration, there were two ſignal inſtances given him to ſhew his zeal in protecting the proteſtants, which advanced his character abroad. The duke of Savoy raiſed a new perſecution of the Vaudois, maſſacring many, and driving the reſt from their habitations. Whereupon Cromwell ſent to the French court, demanding of them to oblige that duke, whom he knew to be in their power, to put a ſtop to his unjuſt fury, or otherwiſe he muſt break with them. The cardinal objected to this as unreaſonable: he would do good offices, he ſaid, but could not anſwer for the effects. However, nothing would ſatisfy the protector, till they oblig'd the duke to reſtore all that he had taken from his proteſtant ſubjects, and to renew their former privileges. Cromwell wrote on this occaſion to the duke himſelf, and by miſtake omitted the title of royal highneſs on his letter; upon which the major part of the council of Savoy were for returning it unopened: but one of them repreſenting that Cromwell would not paſs by ſuch an affront, but would certainly lay Villa Franca in aſhes, and ſet the Swiſs cantons upon Savoy, the letter was read, and, with the cardinal's influence, had the deſired ſucceſs. The protector alſo raiſed money in England for the poor ſufferers, and ſent over an agent to ſettle all their affairs.

At another time there happened a tumult at Niſmes, wherein ſome diſorder had been committed by the Huguenots. They being apprehenſive of ſevere proceedings upon it, ſent one over,

over, with great expedition and ſecrecy, to deſire Cromwell's interceſſion and protection. This expreſs found ſo good a reception, that he the ſame evening diſpatched a letter to the cardinal, with one incloſed to the king; alſo inſtructions to his ambaſſador Lockhart, requiring him either to prevail for a total impunity of that miſdemeanor, or immediately to come away. At Lockhart's application the diſorder was overlooked; and, tho' the French court complained of this proceeding, as a little too imperious, yet the neceſſity of their affairs made them comply. This Lockhart, a wiſe and gallant man, who was governor of Dunkirk, and ambaſſador at the ſame time, and in high favour with the protector, told biſhop Burnet, "that when he was ſent afterwards ambaſſador by king Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid to him in Cromwell's time."

There was yet a farther deſign, very advantageous to the proteſtant cauſe, wherewith Cromwell intended to have begun his kingſhip, had he taken it upon him; and that was, the inſtituting a council for the proteſtant religion in oppoſition to the congregation de propagandâ fide at Rome. This body was to conſiſt of ſeven counſellors, and four ſecretaries for different provinces. The ſecretaries were to have 500 l. ſalary a-piece, to keep correſpondence every where. Ten thouſand pounds a year was to be a fund for ordinary emergencies: farther ſupplies were to be provided, as occaſions required; and Chelſea-College, then an old ruinous building, was to be fitted up for their reception. This was a great deſign, and worthy of the man who had formed it.

§. 16.

§. 16. The ſecret correſpondence he kept up, from his firſt appearance on the theatre of affairs, was what every one wondered at. When he was only deputy of Ireland, he ſtopped the lord Broghill in London, as he was going over to the king, to take out a commiſſion againſt the parliament, and ſo wrought on him, that he went over in the parliament's ſervice, and continued faithful to Cromwell ever after. And when he was mounted to the ſummit of authority, he brought over a company of Jews into England, and gave them toleration to build a ſynagogue; becauſe he knew, by reaſon of their negotiation of money in all countries, that they were excellently fitted for the purpoſe of bringing him intelligence. It was by the information of one of thoſe, who came to him in a poor beggarly habit, that he intercepted a large ſum of money, which the Spaniards, who were then at war with him, were ſending over in a Dutch ſhip, to pay their army in Flanders. He alſo prevailed on ſir Richard Willis, chancellor Hyde's great confident, to let him know all that paſſed at king Charles's court; pretending, that his aim in diſcovering the plots of the royaliſts, for whom he had a great tenderneſs, was only to diſconcert them, that none of them might ſuffer for their raſhneſs. This practice of ſir Richard was not diſcovered till after the protector's death, when he ſtill continued his correſpondence with Thurloe, whoſe under-ſecretary, Moreland, detected him to the king.

There could not be any conſiderable perſon in London, of the royal party, but Cromwell immediately knew of it. He once told lord Broghill, that there was a friend of his in town; and upon his aſking Who? ſaid, my lord Ormond; mentioning the day when he arrived, and the

the place where he now was. Broghill had leave from the protector to go to Ormond, and inform him of all this, that he might make his eſcape; which was done accordingly.

In matters of greateſt moment, the protector truſted none but his ſecretary Thurloe, and oftentimes not him. An inſtance of which Thurloe uſed to tell of himſelf; "that he was once commanded by Cromwell to go at a certain hour to Gray's-Inn, and at ſuch a place deliver a bill of 20,000 l. payable to the bearer at Genoa, to a man he ſhould find walking in ſuch a habit and poſture as he deſcribed him, without ſpeaking one word." Which accordingly Thurloe did; and never knew, to his dying day, either the perſon or the occaſion.

At another time the protector coming late at night to Thurloe's office, and beginning to give him directions about ſomething of great importance and ſecrecy, he took notice that mr. Moreland, afterward ſir Samuel Moreland, was in the room, which he had not obſerved before; and fearing he might have over-heard their diſcourſe, tho' he pretended to be aſleep upon his deſk, he drew a poniard, which he always carried under his coat, and was going to diſpatch Moreland upon the ſpot; if Thurloe had not, with great intreaties, prevailed upon him to deſiſt; aſſuring him that Moreland had ſat up two nights together, and was now certainly faſt aſleep.

There was not the ſmalleſt accident that befel king Charles II. in his exile, but he knew it perfectly well; inſomuch, that having given leave to an Engliſh nobleman to travel, upon condition he ſhould not ſee Charles Stuart; he aſked him, at his return, "if he had punctually obeyed his commands?" Which the other affirming he had;

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Cromwell replied, "It is true you did not ſee him; for to keep your word with me, you agreed to meet in the dark, the candles being put out for that end." And withal told him all the particulars that paſſed in converſation betwixt the king and him at their meeting.

§. 17. That he had ſpies about king Charles was not ſtrange; but his intelligence reached the moſt ſecret tranſactions of other princes, and when the matter was communicated to but very few: of which we have a notable inſtance in the buſineſs of Dunkirk. There was an article, as we have obſerved, in the treaty between France and the protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, it ſhould immediately be delivered up to the Engliſh; and his ambaſſador Lockhart had orders to take poſſeſſion of it accordingly. When the French army, being joined by the Engliſh auxiliaries, was on its march to inveſt the town, Cromwell ſent one morning for the French ambaſſador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publickly for his maſter's deſigned breach of promiſe, in giving ſecret orders to the French general to keep poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, in caſe it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to aſſure him that there was no ſuch thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulled a paper out of his pocket, "Here, ſays he, is a copy of the cardinal's order; and I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an expreſs, to let him know that I am not to be impoſed upon; and that if he deliver not up the keys of the town of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it ſhould be taken, tell him I'll come in perſon, and demand them at the gates of Paris." There

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were but four perſons ſaid to be privy to this order, the queen-mother, the cardinal, the mareſchal de Turenne, and a ſecretary, whoſe name, ſays Wellwood, it is not fit to mention. The cardinal for a long time blamed the queen, as ſhe might poſſibly have blabb'd it out to ſome of her women; whereas it was found after the ſecretary's death, that he had kept a correſpondence with Cromwell for ſeveral years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the copy of the order above-mentioned.

The meſſage had its effect; for Dunkirk was put into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. And to palliate the matter, the duke and mareſchal Crequy was diſpatched into England, ambaſſador extraordinary, to compliment Cromwell, attended with a numerous and ſplendid train of perſons of quality; among whom was a prince of the blood, and Manzini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the protector, full of the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect; and aſſuring his highneſs, that "being within view of the Engliſh ſhore, nothing but the king's indiſpoſition (who lay then ill of the ſmall-pox at Calais) could have hindered him from coming over to England, that he might enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt men that ever was; and whom, next to his maſter, his greateſt ambition was to ſerve. But being deprived of ſo great an happineſs, he had ſent the perſon that was neareſt to him in blood, to aſſure him of the profound veneration he had for his perſon, and how much he was reſolved, to the utmoſt of his power, to cultivate a perpetual amity and friendſhip betwixt his maſter and him."

To conclude; it appears from numberleſs inſtances, that as no man practiſed the arts of government with more policy than Cromwell, ſo he

he became more formidable, both at home and abroad, than moſt princes that had ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne. It was ſaid that cardinal Mazarine would change countenance whenever he heard him named; ſo that it paſſed into a proverb in France, "that he was not ſo much afraid of the devil as of Oliver Cromwell." And this authority Cromwell kept up to the laſt: for after a long chain of ſucceſſes, he died in the peaceful poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, tho' diſguiſed under another name; but left it to a ſon that little reſembled him; one that had neither heart nor abilities to keep it. The protector was buried among our kings, with a royal pomp, and his death condoled by the greateſt princes and ſtates in Chriſtendom, in ſolemn embaſſies to his ſon. It has been obſerved, that as the ides of March were equally fortunate and fatal to Julius Cæſar, ſo was the third of September to Cromwell; for on that day he won the two great victories of Dunbar and Worceſter, in 1650 and 1651; and on that day, 1658, he died.

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